

MISCELLANIES.

THE
EIGHTH VOLUME.

By *Dr. SWIFT.*

The *FOURTH EDITION.*



LONDON,
Printed for C. DAVIS,
against *Gray's-Inn Gate, Holborn;*
and C. BATHURST,
opposite *St. Dunstan's Church, Fleetstreet.*

MDCCXLVIII.

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OF
VOL. VIII.

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[1]

Upon the first Publication of this Pamphlet, all the Scotch Lords then in London went in a Body, and complained to Queen ANNE of the Affront put on them and their Nation, by the Author of this Treatise. Whereupon a Proclamation was published by her Majesty, offering a Reward of Three Hundred Pounds to discover him. The Reason for offering so small a Sum was, that the Queen and Ministry had no Desire to have our supposed Author taken in to Custody.

THE
PUBLICK SPIRIT
OF THE
WHIGS, &c.

I Cannot, without some Envy, and a just Resentment against the opposite Conduct of others, reflect upon that Generosity and Tenderneſs, wherewith the Heads and principal Members of a struggling Faction treat those who will undertake to hold a Pen in their Defence. And the Behaviour of these Patrons is yet the more laudable, because the Benefits they confer are almost gratis. If any

of their Labourers can scratch out a Pamphlet, they desire no more; there is no Question offered about the Wit, the Style, the Argument. Let a Pamphlet come out upon a Demand in a proper Juncture, you shall be well and certainly paid; you shall be paid before-hand; every one of the Party who is able to read, and can spare a Shilling, shall be a Subscriber; several Thousands of each Production shall be sent among their Friends through the Kingdom; the Work shall be reported admirable, sublime, unanswerable; shall serve to raise the sinking Clamours, and confirm the Scandal, of introducing Popery and the Pretender, upon the QUEEN and her Ministers.

AMONG the present Writers on that Side, I can recollect but three of any great Distinction, which are the *Flying Post*, Mr. *Dunton*, and the Author of the *Crisis*. The first of these seems to have been much sunk in Reputation since the sudden Retreat of the *only true genuine original Author*, Mr. *Ridpath*, who is celebrated by the *Dutch Gazetteer*, as *one of the best Pens in England*. Mr. *Dunton* hath been longer and more conversant in Books than any of the three, as well as more voluminous in his Productions: However, having employed his Studies in so great a Variety of other Subjects, he hath, I think, but lately turned his Genius to Politicks. His famous Tract, intituled, *Neck or Nothing*, must be allowed to be the shrewdest Piece, and written with the most Spirit of any which hath appeared from that Side since the Change of the Ministry: It is indeed a most cutting Satyr upon the Lord Treasurer and Lord *Bolingbroke*, and I wonder none of our Friends ever undertook to answer it. I confess I was at first of the same Opinion with several good Judges, who, from the Style and Manner, suppose it to have issued

ed from the sharp Pen of the Earl of Nottingham; and I am still apt to think it might receive his Lordship's last Hand. The third and principal of this Triumvirate is the Author of the *Crisis*; who, although he must yield to the *Flying Post* in Knowledge of the World, and Skill in Politicks, and to Mr. *Dunton* in Keeness of Satyr, and Variety of Reading; hath yet other Qualities enough to denominate him a Writer of a superior Class to either; provided he would a little regard the Propriety and Disposition of his Words, consult the Grammatical Part, and get some Information in the Subject he intends to handle.

OMITTING the generous Countenance and Encouragement that have been shewn to the Persons and Productions of the two former Authors, I shall here only consider the great Favour conferred upon the last. It hath been advertised for several Months in *The Englishman*, and other Papers, that a Pamphlet, called *The Crisis*, should be published at a proper Time, in order to open the Eyes of the Nation. It was proposed to be printed by Subscription, Price a Shilling. This was a little out of Form; because Subscriptions are usually begged only for Books of great Price, and such as are not likely to have a general Sale. Notice was likewise given of what this Pamphlet should contain; only an Extract from certain Acts of Parliament relating to the Succession, which at least must sink Nine-pence in the Shilling, and leave but Three-pence for the Author's political Reflections; so that nothing very wonderful or decisive could be reasonably expected from this Performance. But, a Work was to be done, a heavy Writer to be encouraged, and accordingly many thousand Copies were bespoke. Neither could this be sufficient; for when we expected

pected to have our Bundles delivered us, all was stopt; the Friends to the Cause sprang a new Project, and it was advertised that the *Crisis* could not appear till the Ladies had shewn their Zeal against the *Pretender*, as well as the Men; against the *Pretender* in the Bloom of his Youth, reported to be handsome, and endued with an Understanding exactly of a Size to please the Sex. I should be glad to have seen a printed List of the fair Subscribers prefixed to this Pamphlet; by which the *Chevalier* might know he was so far from *pretending* to a Monarchy here, that he could not so much as *pretend* to a Mistress.

At the destined Period, the first News we hear, is of a huge Train of Dukes, Earls, Viscounts, Barons, Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen, and others, going to *Sam. Buckley's*, the Publisher of the *Crisis*, to fetch home their Cargoes, in order to transmit them, by Dozens, Scores, and Hundreds, into the several Counties, and thereby to prepare the Wills and Understandings of their Friends against the approaching Sessions. Ask any of them whether they have read it? They will answer, No; but they have sent it every where, and it will do a World of Good. It is a Pamphlet, and a Pamphlet, they hear, against the Ministry; talks of Slavery, *France*, and the Pretender; they desire no more; it will settle the Wavering, confirm the Doubtful, instruct the Ignorant, inflame the Clamorous, although it never be once looked into. I am told by those who are expert in the Trade, that the Author and Book-feller of this Twelve-penny Treatise, will be greater Gainers, than from one Edition of any Folio that hath been published these twenty Years. What needy Writer would not solicit to work under such Masters, who will pay us before-hand, take off as much

much of our Ware as we please, at our own Rates, and trouble not themselves to examine either before or after they have bought it, whether it be staple or no?

BUT, in order to illustrate the implicit Munificence of these noble Patrons, I cannot take a more effectual Method than by examining the Production itself; by which we shall easily find that it was never intended, farther than from the Noise, the Bulk, and the Title of *Crisis*, to do any Service to the factious Cause. The entire Piece consists of a Title Page, a Dedication to the Clergy, a Preface, an Extract from certain Acts of Parliament, and about ten Pages of dry Reflections on the Proceedings of the QUEEN and her Servants, which his Coadjutors, the Earl of Nottingham, Mr. Dunton, and the *Flying Post*, had long ago set before us in a much clearer Light.

IN Popish Countries, when some Impostor cries out, *A Miracle! A Miracle!* it is not done with a Hope or Intention of converting Hereticks, but confirming the deluded Vulgar in their Errors: and so the Cry goes round without examining into the Cheat. Thus the Whigs among us give about the Cry, *A Pamphlet! A Pamphlet! The Crisis! The Crisis!* not with a View of convincing their Adversaries, but to raise the Spirits of their Friends, recall their Stragglers, and unite their Numbers by Sound and Impudence; as Bees assemble and cling together by the Noise of Brass.

THAT no other Effect could be imagined or hoped for, by the Publication of this timely Treatise, will be manifest from some obvious Reflections upon the several Parts of it; wherein the Follies, the Falshoods, or the Absurdities, appear so frequent,

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that they may boldly contend for Number with the Lines.

WHEN the Hawker holds this Pamphlet towards you, the first Words you perceive are, *The Crisis; Or, A Discourse, &c.* The Interpreter of *Suidas* gives four Translations of the Word *Crisis*; any of which may be as properly applied to this Author's Letter as to the Bailiff of *Stockbridge*. Next, what he calls *A Discourse*, consists only of two Pages, prefixed to twenty-two more, which contain Extracts from Acts of Parliament; for as to the twelve last Pages, they are provided for by themselves in the Title, under the Name of *Some Seasonable Remarks on the Danger of a Popish Successor*. Another Circumstance worthy of our Information in the Title-Page, is, That the Crown hath been settled by previous Acts. I never heard of any Act of Parliament that was not previous to what it enacted, unless those two, by which the Earl of *Strafford* and Sir *John Fenwick* lost their Heads, may pass for Exceptions. *A Discourse, representing from the most authentick Records, &c.* He hath borrowed this Expression from some Writer, who probably understood the Words; but this Gentleman hath altogether misapplied them; and, under Favour, he is wholly mistaken; for a Heap of Extracts from several Acts of Parliament cannot be called a Discourse; neither do I believe he copied them from the most authentick Records, which, as I take it, are lodged in the *Tower*, but out of some common printed Copy. I grant there is nothing material in all this, further than to shew the Generosity of our Adversaries in encouraging a Writer who cannot furnish out so much as a Title-Page with Propriety or Common Sense.

NEXT

NEXT follows the Dedication to the Clergy of the Church of England, wherein the Modesty and the Meaning of the first Paragraphs are hardly to be matched. He tells them, he hath made a *Comment upon the Acts of Settlement*, which he lays before them, and conjures them to recommend in their *Writings and Discourses* to their Fellow-Subjects: and he doth all this, out of a just *Disference to their great Power and Influence*. This is the right Whig-Scheme of directing the Clergy what to preach. The Archbishop of Canterbury's Jurisdiction extends no farther than over his own Province; but the Author of the *Crisis* constitutes himself Vicar-General over the whole Clergy of the Church of England. The Bishops, in their Letters or Speeches to their own Clergy, proceed no farther than to *Exhortation*; but this Writer conjures the whole Clergy of the Church to recommend his *Comment upon the Laws of the Land, in their Writings and Discourses*. I would fain know, who made him a *Commentator upon the Laws of the Land*; after which it will be time enough to ask him, by what Authority he directs the Clergy to recommend his Comments from the Pulpit or the Press?

He tells the Clergy *there are two Circumstances which place the Minds of the People under their Direction*; the first Circumstance is their Education; the second Circumstance is the Tenth of our Lands. This last, according to the *Latin Phrase*, is spoken *ad invidiam*; for he knows well enough, they have not a twentieth: But if you take it in his own Way, the Landlord has nine Parts in ten of the People's Minds under his Direction. Upon this Rock the Author before us is perpetually splitting, as often as he ventures out beyond the narrow Bounds of his Literature. He hath a confused Remembrance of

Words since he left the University, but hath lost half their Meaning, and puts them together with no Regard, except to their Cadence; as I remember a Fellow nailed up Maps in a Gentleman's Closet, some sideling, others upside down, the better to adjust them to the Pannels.

I AM sensible it is of little Consequence to their Cause, whether this Defender of it understands Grammar or no; and if what he would fain say, discovered him to be a Wellwisher to Reason or Truth, I would be ready to make large Allowance. But when with great Difficulty I descry a Composition of Rancour and Falshood, intermixed with plausible Nonsense, I feel a Struggle between Contempt and Indignation, at seeing the Character of a *Censor*, a *Guardian*, an *Englishman*, a *Commentator* on the *Laws*, an *Instructor* of the *Clergy*, assumed by a Child of Obscurity, without one single Qualification to support them.

THIS Writer, who either affects, or is commanded of late, to copy after the Bishop of *Sarum*, hath, out of the Pregnancy of his Invention, found out an old Way of insinuating the grossest Reflections under the Appearance of Admonitions; and is so judicious a Follower of the Prelate, that he taxes the Clergy for *inflaming their People with Apprehensions of Danger to them and THEIR Constitution, from Men who are innocent of such Designs*; when he must needs confess, the whole *Design* of his Pamphlet is, to *inflame the People with Apprehensions of Danger* from the present Ministry, whom *we* believe to be at least as *innocent Men* as the last.

WHAT shall I say to a Pamphlet, where the Malice and Falshood of every Line would require an Answer, and where the Dulness and Absurdities will not deserve one?

By

By his pretending to have always maintained an inviolable Respect to the Clergy, he would insinuate, that those Papers among the *Tatlers* and *Spectators*, where the whole Order is abused, were not his own. I will appeal to all who know the Flatness of his Style, and the Barrenness of his Invention, whether he doth not grossly prevaricate? Was he ever able to walk without Leading-strings, or swim without Bladders, without being discovered by his hobbling and his sinking? Hath he adhered to his Character in this Paper called *The Englishman*, whereof he is allowed to be the sole Author, without any Competition? What does he think of the Letter signed by himself, which relates to *Molesworth*, in whose Defence he affronts the whole Convocation of Ireland.

It is a wise Maxim, that, because the Clergy are no Civil Lawyers, they ought not to preach Obedience to Governors; and therefore they ought not to preach Temperance, because they are no Physicians. Examine all this Author's Writings, and then point me out a Divine who knoweth less of the Constitution of *England* than he; witness those many egregious Blunders in his late Papers, where he pretended to dabble in the Subject.

BUT the Clergy, have, it seems, imbibed their Notions of Power and Obedience abhorrent from our Laws, from the pompous Ideas of Imperial Greatness, and the Submission to absolute Emperors. This is gross Ignorance, below a School-boy in his *Lucius Florus*. The *Roman* History wherein Lads are instructed, reacheth little above Eight hundred Years, and the Authors do every where instil Republican Principles; and from the Account of nine in twelve of the first Emperors, we learn to have a Detestation against Tyranny. The *Greeks* carry this Point yet
a great

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a great deal higher, which none can be ignorant of, who hath read or heard them quoted. This gave *Hobbs* the Occasion of advancing a Position directly contrary, That the Youth of *England* were corrupted in their political Principles by reading the Histories of *Rome* and *Greece*, which, having been writ under Republicks, taught the Readers to have ill Notions of Monarchy. In this Assertion there was something specious, but that advanced by the *Crisis* could only issue from the profoundest Ignorance.

BUT, would you know his Scheme of Education for young Gentlemen at the University? It is, that they should spend their Time in perusing those Acts of Parliament, whereof his Pamphlet is an Extract, which, if it had been done, the Kingdom would not be in its present Condition, but every Member sent into the World thus instructed, since the Revolution, would have been an Advocate for our Rights and Liberties.

HERE now is a Project for getting more Money by the *Crisis*; to have it read by Tutors in the Universities. I thoroughly agree with him, that if our Students had been thus employed for twenty Years past, the Kingdom had not been in its present Condition: But we have too many of such Proficients already among the young Nobility and Gentry, who have gathered up their Politicks from Chocolate-houses, and factious Clubs, and who, if they had spent their Time in hard Study at *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, we might indeed have said, that the factious Part of this Kingdom had not been in its present Condition, or have suffered themselves to be taught, that a few Acts of Parliament relating to the Succession are preferable to all other Civil Institutions whatsoever. Neither did I ever before hear, that an

Act of Parliament relating to one particular Point could be called a Civil Institution.

He spends almost a Quarto Page in telling the Clergy, that they will be certainly perjured if they bring in the *Pretender*, whom they have abjured; and he wisely reminds them, that they have sworn without Equivocation or mental Reservation: otherwise the Clergy might think, that as soon as they received the *Pretender*, and turned *Papists*, they would be free from their Oath.

THIS honest, civil, ingenious Gentleman knows in his Conscience, that there are not ten Clergymen in *England* (except the Nonjurors) who do not abhor the Thoughts of the *Pretender* reigning over us, much more than himself. But this is the Spittle of the Bishop of *Sarum*, which our Author licks up, and swallows, and then coughs out again, with an Addition of his own Phlegm. I would fain suppose the Body of the Clergy were to return an Answer by one of their Members, to these worthy Counsellors. I conceive it might be in the following Terms:

My Lord and Gentleman,

“ The Clergy command me to give you Thanks
 “ for your Advice; and if they knew any Crimes,
 “ from which either of you were as free, as they
 “ are from those which you so earnestly exhort them
 “ to avoid, they would return your Favour as near
 “ as possible in the same Style and Manner. How-
 “ ever, that your Advice may not be wholly lost,
 “ particularly that Part of it which relates to the
 “ *Pretender*, they desire you would apply it to
 “ more proper Persons. Look among your own
 “ Leaders; examine which of them engaged in a
 “ Plot to restore the late King *James*, and received
 “ Pardons

“ Pardons under his Seal; examine which of them
 “ have been since tampering with his pretended
 “ Son, and, to gratify their Ambition, their Avarice,
 “ their Malice and Revenge, are now willing to
 “ restore him at the Expence of the Religion and
 “ Liberty of their Country. Retire, good my Lord,
 “ with your Pupil, and let us hear no more of these
 “ hypocritical Insinuations, lest the QUEEN and Mi-
 “ nisters, who have been hitherto content with only
 “ *disappointing* the lurking Villanies of your Fa-
 “ ction, may be at last provoked to *expose* them.”

BUT his Respect for the Clergy is such, that he doth not insinuate as if they really had these evil Dispositions; he only *insinuates*, that they give *too much Cause* for such *Insinuations*.

I WILL, upon Occasion, strip some of his *Insinuations* from their Generality and Solecisms, and drag them into the Light. His Dedication to the Clergy is full of them, because here he endeavours to mould up his Rancour and Civility together; by which Constraint, he is obliged to shorten his Paragraphs, and to place them in such a Light, that they obscure one another. Supposing therefore, that I have scraped off his good Manners, in order to come at his Meaning, which lies under; he tells the Clergy, that the Favour of the QUEEN and her Ministers is but a *Colour of Zeal towards them*; that the People were deluded by a groundless Cry of the Church's Danger at *Sacheverel's Trial*; that the Clergy, as they are *Men of Sense and Honour*, ought to preach this Truth to their several Congregations, and let them know, that the true Design of the present Men in Power, in that and all their Proceedings since in Favour of the Church, was to bring in *Popery, France, and the Pretender*, and to enslave

enslave all Europe, contrary to the *Laws of our Country, the Power of the Legislature, the Faith of Nations, and the Honour of God.*

I CANNOT see why the Clergy, as *Men of Sense and Men of Honour* (for he appeals not to them as *Men of Religion*) should not be allowed to know when they are in Danger, and be able to guess whence it comes, and who are their Protectors. The Design of their Destruction, indeed, may have been projected in the Dark; but when all was ripe, their Enemies proceeded to so many Overt Acts in the Face of the Nation, that it was obvious to the meanest People, who wanted no other Motives to rouse them. On the other Side, can this Author, or the wisest of his Faction, assign one single Act of the present Ministry any ways tending towards bringing in the Pretender, or to weaken the Possession of the House of Hanover? Observe then the Reasonableness of this Gentleman's Advice: The Clergy, the Gentry, and the common People had the utmost Apprehensions of Danger to the Church under the late Ministry; yet then it was the greatest Impiety to *inflame the People with any such Apprehensions.* His Danger of a *Popish* Successor, from any Steps of the present Ministry, is an artificial Calumny, raised and spread against the Conviction of the Inventors; pretended to be believed only by those who abhor the Constitution in Church and State; an obdurate Faction, who compass Heaven and Earth to restore themselves upon the Ruin of their Country; yet here our Author *exhorts the Clergy to preach up* this imaginary Danger to their People, and disturb the publick Peace with his strained seditious Comments.

BUT how comes this gracious Licence to the Clergy from the *Whigs*, to concern themselves with Politicks

Politicks of any sort, although it be only the Glosses and Comments of Mr. Steele? The Speeches of the Managers at *Sacheverel's* Trial, particularly those of *Stanhope*, *Leckmere*, *King*, *Parker*, and some others, seemed to deliver a different Doctrine. Nay, this very Dedication complains of *some in Holy Orders, who have made the Constitution of their Country* (in which and the *Coptick* Mr. Steele is equally skilled) *a very little Part of their Study, and yet made Obedience and Government the frequent Subjects of their Discourses.* This Difficulty is easily solved; for, by Politicks they mean Obedience. Mr. Hoadly, who is a Champion for Resistance, was never charged for meddling out of his Function: *Hugh Peters*, and his Brethren, in the Times of Usurpation, had full Liberty to preach up Sedition and Rebellion; and so here Mr. Steele issues out his Licence to the Clergy to preach up the *Danger of a Popish Pretender*, in Defiance of the QUEEN and her Administration.

EVERY Whiffler in a laced Coat, who frequents the Chocolate-house, and is able to spell the Title of a Pamphlet, shall talk of the Constitution with as much Plausibility as this very solemn Writer, and with as good a Grace blame the Clergy for meddling with Politicks, which they do not understand. I have known many of these able Politicians, furnished, before they were of Age, with all the necessary Topicks of their Faction, and, by the Help of about twenty Polysyllables, capable of maintaining an Argument that would shine in the *Crisis*; whose Author gathered up his little Stock from the same Schools, and hath writ from no other Fund.

BUT, after all, it is not clear to me, whether this Gentleman addresseth himself to the Clergy of *England* in general, or only to those very few (hardly enough,

enough, in Case of a Change, to supply the Mortality of those *Self-denying Prelates* he celebrates who are in his Principles, and, among these, only such as live in and about *London*; which probably will reduce the Number to about half a dozen at most. I should incline to guess the latter; because he tells them, they are surrounded by a learned, wealthy, knowing Gentry, who know with what Firmness, Self-denial, and Charity, the Bishops adhered to the publick Cause, and what Contumelies those Clergymen have undergone, &c. who adhered to the Cause of Truth. By those Terms, the publick Cause, and the Cause of Truth, he understands the Cause of the Whigs, in Opposition to the QUEEN and her Servants: Therefore by the learned, wealthy, and knowing Gentry, he must understand the Bank and East-India Company, and those other Merchants and Citizens within the Bills of Mortality, who have been strenuous against the Church and Crown, and whose Spirit of Faction hath lately got the better of their Interest. For, let him search all the rest of the Kingdom, he will find the surrounded Clergy, and the surrounding Gentry, wholly Strangers to the Merits of those Prelates; and adhering to a very different Cause of Truth, as will soon, I hope, be manifest, by a fair Appeal to the Representatives of both.

It was very unnecessary in this Writer to bespeak the Treatment of *Contempt and Derision*, which the Clergy are to expect from his Faction, whenever they come into Power. I believe, that venerable Body is in very little Concern after what Manner their most mortal Enemies intend to treat them, whenever it shall please God for our Sins to visit us with so fatal an Event; which I hope it will be the united Endeavours both of Clergy and Laity

to

to hinder. It would be some Support to this Hope, if I could have any Opinion of his predicting Talent (which some have ascribed to People of this Author's Character) where he tells us, That *Noise and Wrath will not always pass for Zeal*. What other Instances of Zeal hath this Gentleman or the rest of his Party been able to produce? If Clamour be *Noise*, it is but opening our Ears to know from what Side it comes; and, if Sedition, Scurrility, Slander, and Calumny, be the Fruit of *Wrath*, read the Pamphlets and Papers issuing from the *Zealots* of that Faction, or visit their Clubs and Coffee-houses, in order to form a Judgment of the Tree.

WHEN Mr. Steele tells us, *We have a Religion that wants no Support from the Enlargement of Secular Power, but is well supported by the Wisdom and Piety of its Preachers, and its own native Truth*; it would be good to know what Religion he professeth: For the Clergy to whom he speaks will never allow him a Member of the Church of England. They cannot agree, that the *Truth* of the Gospel, and the *Piety* and *Wisdom* of its Preachers, are a sufficient Support, in an evil Age, against Infidelity, Faction, and Vice, without the Assistance of *Secular Power*; unless God would please to confer the Gift of Miracles on those who wait at the Altar. I believe, they venture to go a little further, and think, That, upon some Occasions, they want a little *Enlargement of Assistance from the Secular Power*, against *Atheists, Deists, Socinians*, and other Hereticks. Every first Sunday in *Lent*, a Part of the Liturgy is read to the People, in the Preface to which the Church declares her Wishes for the restoring of that Discipline she formerly had, and which, for some Years past, hath been more wanted than ever. But of this no more, lest it might *insinuate Jealousies between the*
Clergy

Clergy and Laity; which, the Author tells us, is the *Policy of vain ambitious Men among the former, in hopes to derive from their Order a Veneration they cannot deserve from their Virtue.* If this be their Method for procuring Veneration, it is the most singular that ever was thought on; and the Clergy would then indeed have no more to do with Politicks of any Sort than Mr. Steele or his Faction will allow them.

HAVING thus toiled through his Dedication, I proceed to consider his Preface, which, half consisting of Quotation, will be so much the sooner got through. It is a very unfair Thing in any Writer to employ his *Ignorance and Malice* together; because it gives his Answerer double Work: It is like the sort of Sophistry that the Logicians call *two Mediums*, which are never allowed in the same Syllogism. A Writer with a weak Head, and a corrupt Heart, is an Over-match for any single Pen; like a hireling Jade, dull and vicious, hardly able to stir, yet offering at every Turn to kick.

HE begins his Preface with such an Account of the Original of Power, and the Nature of Civil Institutions, as I am confident was never once imagined by any Writer upon Government, from Plato to Mr. Locke. Give me Leave to transcribe his first Paragraph. *I never saw an unruly Crowd of People cool by Degrees into Temper, but it gave me an Idea of the Original of Power, and the Nature of Civil Institutions. One particular Man has usually in those Cases, from the Dignity of his Appearance, or other Qualities known or imagined by the Multitude, been received into sudden Favour and Authority, the Occasion of their Difference has been represented to him, and the Matter referred to his Decision.*

I HAVE known a Poet, who never was out of *England*, introduce a Fact by way of Simile, which could probably no where happen nearer than in the Plains of *Libya*; and begin with, *So have I seen*. Such a Fiction I suppose may be justified by Poetical Licence; yet *Virgil* is much more modest. This Paragraph of Mr. *Steele's*, which he sets down as an Observation of his own, is a miserable mangled Translation of six Verses out of that famous Poet, who speaks after this Manner: *As when a Sedition arises in a great Multitude, &c. Then, if they see a wise grave Man, &c. Virgil*, who lived but a little after the Ruin of the *Roman Republick*, where Seditions often happened, and the Force of Oratory was great among the People, made use of a Simile, which Mr. *Steele* turns into a Fact, after such a Manner, as if he had seen it an hundred Times; and builds upon it a System of the Origin of Government. When the Vulgar here in *England* assemble in a riotous Manner (which is not very frequent of late Years) the Prince takes a much more effectual Way than that of sending Orators to appease them: But Mr. *Steele* imagines such a Crowd of People as this where there is no Government at all; their *Unruliness* quelled, and their Passions cooled, by a particular Man, whose great Qualities they had known before. Such an Assembly must have risen suddenly from the Earth, and the *Man of Authority* dropt from the Clouds; for without some previous Form of Government, no such Crowd did ever yet assemble, or could possibly be acquainted with the Merits and Dignity of any particular Man among them. But, to pursue his Scheme; This Man of Authority, who cools the Crowd by Degrees, and to whom they all appeal, must of Necessity prove either an open or clandestine Tyrant. A clandestine Tyrant I take to be a King of
Brent-

Brentford, who keeps his Army in Disguise; and whenever he happens either to die naturally, be knockt on the Head, or deposed, the People calmly take further Measures, and improve upon what was begun under his unlimited Power. All this our Author tells us, with extreme Propriety, is what seems reasonable to common Sense; that is, in other Words, it seems reasonable to Reason. This is what he calls giving an Idea of the Original of Power, and the Nature of Civil Institutions. To which I answer with great Phlegm, that I defy any Man alive to shew me in double the Number of Lines, although writ by the same Author, such a complicated Ignorance in History, human Nature, or Politicks, as well as in the ordinary Proprieties of Thought or of Style.

BUT, it seems, these profound Speculations were only premised to introduce some Quotations in Favour of *Resistance*. What hath *Resistance* to do with the Succession of the House of *Hanover*, that the Whig Writers should perpetually affect to tag them together? I can conceive nothing else, but that their Hatred to the QUEEN and Ministry puts them upon Thoughts of introducing the Successor by another Revolution. Are Cases of *extreme Necessity* to be produced as common Maxims by which we are always to proceed? Should not these Gentlemen sometimes inculcate the general Rule of Obedience, and not always the Exception of Resistance? Since the former hath been the perpetual Dictate of all Laws both Divine and Civil, and the latter is still in Dispute.

I SHALL meddle with none of the Passages he cites, to prove the Lawfulness of resisting Princes, except that from the present Lord Chancellor's Speech, in Defence of Dr. *Sacheverel*: That there

are extraordinary Cases, Cases of Necessity, which are implied, although not expressed, in the general Rule [of Obedience.] These Words, very clear in themselves, Mr. Steele explains into Nonsense; which in any other Author I should suspect to have been intended as a Reflection upon as great a Person as ever filled or adorned that high Station: But I am so well acquainted with his Pen, that I much more wonder how it can trace out a true Quotation than a false Comment. To see him treat my Lord Harcourt with so much Civility looks indeed a little suspicious, and, as if he had Malice in his Heart. He calls his Lordship a *very great Man*, and a *great living Authority*; places himself in Company with General Stanhope and Mr. Hoadley; and, in short, takes the most effectual Method in his Power of ruining his Lordship in the Opinion of every Man who is wise or good. I can only tell my Lord Harcourt, for his Comfort, that these Praises are incumbered with the Doctrine of *Resistance*, and the true Revolution Principles; and provided he will not allow Mr. Steele for his Commentator, he may hope to recover the Honour of being libelled again, as well as his Sovereign, and Fellow-Servants.

WE now come to the *Crisis*; where we meet with two Pages, by way of Introduction to those Extracts from Acts of Parliament that constitute the Body of his Pamphlet. This Introduction begins with a Definition of Liberty, and then proceeds in a Panegyrick upon that great Blessing. His Panegyrick is made up of half a dozen Shreds, like a School-Boy's Theme, beaten, general Topicks, where any other Man alive might wander securely; but this Politician, by venturing to vary the good old Phrases, and give them a new Turn, commits an hun-

dred Solecisms and Absurdities. The weighty Truths which he endeavours to press upon his Reader are such as these: That *Liberty is a very good thing*; that *without Liberty we cannot be free*; that *Health is good, and Strength is good, but Liberty is better than either*; that *no Man can be happy without the Liberty of doing whatever his own Mind tells him is best*; that *Men of Quality love Liberty, and common People love Liberty*; even Women and Children love Liberty; and you cannot please them better than by letting them do what they please. Had Mr. Steele contented himself to deliver these and the like Maxims in such intelligible Terms, I could have found where we agreed and where we differed. But, let us hear some of those Axioms, as he hath involved them. *We cannot possess our Souls with Pleasure and Satisfaction except we preserve in ourselves that inestimable Blessing which we call Liberty. By Liberty I desire to be understood to mean the Happiness of Men's Living &c.* — The true Life of Man consists in conducting it according to his own just Sentiments and innocent Inclinations — *Man's Being is degraded below that of a free Agent, when his Affections and Passions are no longer governed by the Dictates of his own Mind* — *Without Liberty, our Health (among other Things) may be at the Will of a Tyrant, employed to our own Ruin and that of our Fellow-Creatures.* If there be any of these Maxims which is not grossly defective in Truth, in Sense, or in Grammar, I will allow them to pass for uncontrollable. In the first, omitting the Pedantry of the whole Expression, there are not above one or two Nations in the World where any one Man can possess his Soul with Pleasure and Satisfaction. In the second, He desires to be understood to mean; that is, he desires to be meant to mean, or to be understood

derstood to understand. In the third, *The Life of Man consists in conducting his Life.* In the fourth, he affirms, *That Mens Beings are degraded when their Passions are no longer governed by the Dictates of their own Minds;* directly contrary to the Lessons of all Moralists and Legislators; who agree unanimously, that the Passions of Men must be under the Government of Reason and Law; neither are Laws of any other Use than to correct the Irregularity of our Affections. In the last, *our Health is ruinous to ourselves and other Men when a Tyrant pleases;* which I leave to him to make out.

I CANNOT sufficiently commend our Ancestors for transmitting to us the Blessing of Liberty; yet having *laid out their Blood and Treasure upon the Purchase,* I do not see how they acted *parsimoniously;* because I can conceive nothing more generous than that of employing our Blood and Treasure for the Service of others. But I am suddenly struck with the Thought, that I have found his Meaning: Our Ancestors acted *parsimoniously,* because they only spent their own Treasure for the Good of their Posterity; whereas we squandered away the Treasures of our Posterity too; but whether they will be thankful, and think it was done for the Preservation of their Liberty, must be left to themselves for a Decision.

I VERILY believe, although I could not prove it in *Westminster Hall* before a *Lord Chief Justice,* that by *Enemies to our Constitution,* and *Enemies to our present Establishment,* Mr. Steele would desire to be understood to mean My Lord Treasurer and the rest of the Ministry: By *those who are grown supine in proportion to the Danger to which our Liberty is every Day more exposed,* I should guess he means the Tories: And, by *honest Men who ought to look*
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up with a Spirit that becomes *Honesty*, he understands the Whigs. I likewise believe, he would take it ill, or think me stupid, if I did not thus expound him. I say then, that, according to this Exposition, the four great Officers of State, together with the rest of the Cabinet-Council (except the Archbishop of *Canterbury*) are *Enemies to our Establishment, making artful and open Attacks upon our Constitution, and are now practising indirect Arts, and mean Subtilties, to weaken the Security of those Acts of Parliament for settling the Succession in the House of Hanover.* The first, and most notorious, of these Criminals is *Robert Harley* Earl of *Oxford*, Lord High Treasurer, who is reputed to be Chief Minister: The second is, *James Butler* Duke of *Ormonde*, who commands the Army, and designs to employ it in bringing over the *Pretender*: The third is, *Henry St. John* Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke*, Secretary of State, who must be supposed to hold a constant Correspondence at the Court of *Bar le Duc*, as the late Earl of *Godolphin* did with that at *St. Germain*: And, to avoid Tedioufness, Mr. *Bromley* and the rest are employed in their several Districts to the same End. These are the Opinions which Mr. *Steele* and his Faction, under the Direction of their Leaders, are endeavouring with all their Might to propagate among the People of *England*, concerning the present Ministry; with what Reservation to the Honour, Wisdom, or Justice of the QUEEN, I cannot determine; who, by her own free Choice, after long Experience of their Abilities and Integrity, and in Compliance to the general Wishes of her People, called them to her Service. Such an Accusation, against Persons in so high Trust, should require, I think, at least, one single Overt-Act to make it good. If there be no other Choice of Per-

sons fit to serve the Crown, without Danger from the *Pretender*, except among those who are called the Whig Party, the *Hanover* Succession is then indeed in a very desperate State: That illustrious Family will have almost Nine in Ten of the Kingdom against it, and those principally of the Landed Interest; which is most to be depended upon in such a Nation as ours.

I HAVE now got as far as his Extracts, which I shall not be at the Pains of comparing with the Originals, but suppose he hath gotten them fairly transcribed: I only think, that whoever is Patentee for printing Acts of Parliament may have a very fair Action against him, for Invasion of Property: But this is none of my Business to enquire into.

AFTER two and twenty Pages spent in reciting Acts of Parliament, *he desires Leave to repeat the History and Progress of the Union*; upon which I have some few things to observe.

THIS *Work*, he tells us, *was unsuccessfully attempted by several of her Majesty's Predecessors*; although I^a do not remember it was ever thought on by any except King *James* the First, and the late King *William*. I have read indeed, that some small Overtures were made by the former of these Princes, towards an Union between the two Kingdoms, but rejected, with Indignation and Contempt, by the *English*: And the Historian tells us, that how degenerate and corrupt soever the Court and Parliament then were, they would not give Ear to so infamous a Proposal. I do not find that any of the succeeding Princes, before the Revolution, ever resumed the Design; because it was a Project for which there could

^a The Author's Memory failed him a little in this Assertion, as one of his Answerers observed.

not possibly be assigned the least Reason or Necessity : For I defy any Mortal to name one single Advantage that *England* could ever expect from such an Union.

BUT towards the End of the late King's Reign, upon Apprehensions of the Want of Issue from him, or the Princess *Anne*, a Proposition for uniting both Kingdoms was begun ; because *Scotland* had not settled their Crown upon the House of *Hanover*, but left themselves at large, in hopes to make their Advantage : And it was thought highly dangerous to leave that Part of the Island, inhabited by a poor, fierce, Northern People, at Liberty to put themselves under a different King. However, the Opposition to this Work was so great, that it could not be overcome until some Time after her present Majesty came to the Crown ; when by the Weakness, or Corruption of a certain Minister, since dead, an Act of Parliament was obtained for the *Scots*, which gave them Leave to arm themselves ; and so the Union became necessary, not for any actual Good it could possibly do us, but to avoid a probable Evil ; and, at the same Time, save an obnoxious Minister's Head ; who was so wise as to take the first Opportunity of procuring a general Pardon, by Act of Parliament ; because he could not, with so much Decency and Safety, desire a particular one for himself. These Facts are well enough known to the whole Kingdom. And, I remember, discoursing above six Years ago, with the most considerable * Person of the adverse Party, and a great Promoter of the Union, he frankly owned to me, That this Necessity, brought upon us by the wrong Management of

* LORD SOMERS.

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the Earl of Godolphin, was the only Cause of the Union.

THEREFORE I am ready to grant two Points to the Author of the *Crisis*: *First*, that the Union became necessary for the Cause above related; because it prevented this Island from being governed by two Kings; which *England* would never have suffered; and it might probably have cost us a War, of a Year or two, to reduce the *Scots*. *Secondly*, that it would be dangerous to break this Union, at least in this Juncture, while there is a *Pretender* abroad, who might probably lay hold of such an Opportunity. And this made me wonder a little at the Spirit of Faction last Summer among some People, who having been the great Promoters of the Union, and several of them the principal Gainers by it, could yet proceed so far as to propose, in the House of Lords, that it should be dissolved; while, at the same time, those Peers, who had ever opposed it in the Beginning, were then for preserving it, upon the Reason I have just assigned, and which the Author of the *Crisis* hath likewise taken Notice of.

BUT, when he tells us, *the Englishmen ought, in Generosity, to be more particularly careful in preserving this Union*, he argues like himself. *The late Kingdom of Scotland* (saith he) *had as numerous a Nobility as England, &c.* They had indeed; and to that we owe one of the great and necessary Evils of the Union, upon the Foot it now stands. Their Nobility is indeed so numerous, that the whole Revenues of their Country would be hardly able to maintain them according to the Dignity of their Titles; and, what is infinitely worse, they are never likely to be extinct until the last Period of all Things; because the greatest Part of them descend
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to Heirs general. I imagine a Person of Quality prevailed on to marry a Woman much his inferior, and without a Groat to her Fortune, and her Friends arguing, she was as good as her Husband, because she brought him as numerous a Family of Relations and Servants, as she found in his House. *Scotland*, in the Taxes, is obliged to contribute one Penny for every forty Pence laid upon *England*; and the Representatives they send to Parliament are about a thirteenth. Every other *Scotch* Peer hath all the Privileges of an *English* one, except that of sitting in Parliament, and even Precedence before all of the same Title that shall be created for the Time to come. The Pensions and Employments possessed by the Natives of that Country now among us do amount to more than the whole Body of their Nobility ever spent at home; and all the Money they raise upon the Publick is hardly sufficient to defray their Civil and Military Lists. I could point out some with great Titles, who affected to appear very vigorous for dissolving the Union, although their whole Revenues before that Period would have ill maintained a *Welsh* Justice of the Peace; and have since gathered more Money than ever any *Scotchman*, who had not travelled, could form an Idea of.

I HAVE only one thing more to say upon Occasion of the Union Act; which is, that the Author of the *Crisis* may be fairly proved, from his own Citations, to be guilty of HIGH TREASON. In a Paper of his called *The Englishman*, of October 29, there is an Advertisement about taking in Subscriptions for printing the *Crisis*, where the Title is published at length, with the following Clause, which the Author thought fit to drop in the Publication; [And that no Power on Earth can bar, alter, or make void

void the present Settlement of the Crown, &c. By Richard Steele.] In his Extract of an Act of Parliament made since the Union, it appears to be High Treason for any Person, by Writing or Printing, to maintain and affirm, that the Kings or Queens of this Realm, with and by the Authority of Parliament, are not able to make Laws and Statutes of sufficient Force and Validity to limit and bind the Crown, and the Descent, Limitation, Inheritance, and Government thereof. This Act being subsequent to the Settlement of the Crown confirmed at the Union, it is probable, some Friend of the Author advised him to leave out those treasonable Words in the printed Title-Page, which he had before published in the Advertisement; and accordingly we find, that in the Treatise itself, he only offers it to every good Subject's Consideration, whether this Article of the Settlement of the Crown is not as firm as the Union itself, and as the Settlement of Episcopacy in England, &c. And he thinks the Scots understood it so, that the Succession to the Crown was never to be controverted.

THESE I take to be only treasonable Insinuations; but the Advertisement before mentioned is actually *High Treason*; for which the Author ought to be prosecuted, if that would avail any thing under a Jurisdiction where cursing the Queen is not above the Penalty of Twenty Marks.

NOTHING is more notorious than that the *Whigs*, of late Years, both in their Writings and Discourses, have affected upon all Occasions to allow the Legitimacy of the *Pretender*. This makes me a little wonder to see our Author labouring to prove the contrary, by producing all the popular Chat of those Times, and other solid Arguments from *Fuller's Narrative*: But, it must be supposed, that this Gentleman acts by the Commands of his Superiors, who,

who have thought fit, at this Juncture, to issue out new Orders, for Reasons best known to themselves. I wish they had been more clear in their Directions to him upon that weighty Point, Whether the Settlement of the Succession in the House of Hanover be alterable or no. I have observed where, in his former Pages, he gives it in the Negative; but in the turning of a Leaf, he hath wholly changed his Mind. He tells us, *He wonders there can be found any Briton weak enough to contend against a Power in their own Nation, which is practised in a much greater Degree in other States: And how hard it is, that Britain should be debarred the Privilege of establishing its own Security, by relinquishing only those Branches of the Royal Line which threaten it with Destruction; whilst other Nations never scruple upon less Occasions to go much greater Lengths; of which he produceth Instances in France, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia; and then adds, Can Great Britain help to advance Men to other Thrones, and have no Power in limiting its own? How can a Senator, capable of doing Honour to Sir Thomas Hanmer, be guilty of such ridiculous Inconsistences? The Author of the Conduct of the Allies (says he) hath dared to drop Insinuations about altering the Succession. The Author of the Conduct of the Allies writes Sense and English; neither of which the Author of the Crisis understands. The former thinks it wrong, in point of Policy, to call in a Foreign Power to be Guarantee of our Succession, because it puts it out of the Power of our own Legislature to change our Succession, without the Consent of that Prince or State who is Guarantee, whatever Necessity may happen in future Times. Now, if it be High Treason to affirm by Writing, that the Legislature hath no such Power; and if Mr. Steele thinks it strange that Britain should be debarred*

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red this Privilege; what could be the Crime of putting such a Case, that in future Ages, a Necessity might happen of limiting the Succession, as well as it hath happened already?

WHEN Mr. Steele reflects upon the many solemn, strong Barriers (to our Succession) of Laws and Oaths, &c. he thinks all Fear vanisbeth before them. I think so too; provided the Epithet *solemn* goes for nothing; because, although I have often heard of a *solemn Day*, a *solemn Feast*, and a *solemn Coxcomb*, yet I can conceive no Idea to myself of a *solemn Barrier*. However, be that as it will, his *Thoughts*, it seems, will not let him rest, but, before he is aware, he asks himself several Questions; and, since he cannot resolve them, I will endeavour to give him what Satisfaction I am able. The first is, *What are the Marks of a lasting Security?* To which I answer, that the Sign of it in a Kingdom or State are, first, Good Laws; and, secondly, Those Laws well executed: We are pretty well provided with the former, but extremely defective in the latter. Secondly, *What are our Tempers and our Hearts at Home?* If by *ours* he means those of himself and his Abettors, they are most damnably wicked; impatient for the Death of the QUEEN; ready to gratify their Ambition and Revenge by all desperate Methods; wholly alienate from Truth, Law, Religion, Mercy, Conscience, or Honour. Thirdly, *In what Hands is Power lodged abroad?* To answer the Question naturally, Louis XIV. is King of France, Philip V. (by the Counsels and Acknowledgments of the Whigs) is King of Spain, and so on. If by Power he means Money; the Duke of Marlborough is thought to have more ready Money than all the Kings of Christendom together; but, by the peculiar Disposition of Providence, it is locked up in a Trunk,

Trunk, to which his Ambition hath no Key; and that is our Security. Fourthly, *Are our unnatural Divisions our Strength?* I think not; but they are the Sign of it; for, being *unnatural*, they cannot last, and this shews, that *Union*, the Foundation of all Strength, is more agreeable to our Nature. Fifthly, *Is it nothing to us, which of the Princes of Europe has the longest Sword?* Not much, if we can tie up his Hands, or put a strong *Shield* into those of his Neighbours; or if our *Sword* be as *sharp* as his is long; or if it be necessary for him to turn his own *Sword* into a *Plowshare*; or if such a *Sword* happeneth to be in the Hands of an *Infant*, or struggled for by two Competitors. Sixthly, *The powerful Hand that deals out Crowns and Kingdoms all around us, may it not in Time reach a King out to us too?* If the *powerful Hand* he means be that of *France*, it may reach out as many Kings as it pleaseth; but we will not accept them. Whence does this Man get his Intelligence? I should think, even his Brother *Ridpath* might furnish him with better. What *Crowns* or *Kingdoms* hath *France* dealt about? *Spain* was given by the Will of the former King, in Consequence of that infamous Treaty of *Partition*, the Adviser of which will, I hope, never be forgot in *England*. *Sicily* was disposed of by Her Majesty of *Great Britain*; so in Effect was *Sardinia*. *France* indeed once reached out a King to *Poland*, but the People would not receive him. This Question of *Mr. Steele's* was therefore only put in *terrorem*, without any Regard to Truth. Seventhly, *Are there no Pretensions to our Crown that can ever be revived?* There may, for ought I know, be about a Dozen; and those in Time may possibly beget a Hundred; but we must do as well as we can. *Captain Bessus*, when he had fifty Challenges to answer, protested

protested he could not fight above three Duels a Day. *If the Pretender should fail* (says the Writer) *the French King has in his Quiver a Succession of them; the Duchess of Savoy, or her Sons, or the Dauphin her Grandson.* Let me suppose the *Chevalier de St. George* to be dead; the Duchess of Savoy will then be a Pretender, and consequently must leave her Husband, because his Royal Highness (for Mr. Steele has not yet acknowledged him for a King) is in Alliance with her *British Majesty*; her Sons, when they grow Pretenders, must undergo the same Fate. But I am at a Loss how to dispose of the *Dauphin*, if he happen to be King of France before the Pretendership to Britain falls to his Share; for I doubt he will never be persuaded to remove out of his own Kingdom, only because it is too near England.

BUT the Duke of Savoy did, some Years ago, put in his Claim to the Crown of England in Right of his Wife; and he is a Prince of great Capacity, in strict Alliance with France, and may therefore very well add to our Fears of a Popish Successor. Is it the Fault of the present, or of any Ministry, that this Prince put in his Claim? Must we give him Opium to destroy his Capacity? Or can we prevent his Alliance with any Prince who is in Peace with her Majesty? Must we send to stab or poison all the Popish Princes who have any pretended Title to our Crown by the Proximity of Blood? What, in the Name of GOD, can these People drive at? what is it they demand? Suppose the present *Dauphin* were now a Man, and King of France, and next Popish Heir to the Crown of England; is he not excluded by the Laws of the Land? But what Regard will he have to our Laws? I answer; Hath not the QUEEN as good a Title to the Crown of France?

France? And how is she excluded, but by their Law against the Succession of Females, which we are not bound to acknowledge? And is it not in our Power to exclude Female Successors, as well as in theirs? If such a Pretence shall prove the Cause of a War, what human Power can prevent it? But our Cause must necessarily be good and righteous; for either the Kings of *England* have been unjustly kept out of the Possession of *France*, or the *Dauphin*, although nearest of Kin, can have no legal Title to *England*. And he must be an ill Prince indeed, who will not have the Hearts and Hands of ninety nine in an hundred, among his Subjects, against such a *Papish Pretender*.

I HAVE been the longer in answering the seventh Question, because it led me to consider all he had afterwards to say upon the Subject of the *Pretender*. Eighthly, and lastly, he asks himself, *Whether Popery and Ambition are become tame and quiet Neighbours?* In this I can give him no Satisfaction, because I never was in that Street where they live; nor do I converse with any of their Friends; only I find they are Persons of a very evil Reputation. But I am told for certain, that *Ambition* hath removed her Lodging, and lives the very next Door to *Faction*, where they keep such a Racket, that the whole Parish is disturbed, and every Night in an Uproar.

THUS much in Answer to those eight *uneasy Questions* put by the Author to himself, in order to satisfy every Briton, and give him an Occasion of taking an impartial View of the Affairs of Europe in general, as well as of Great Britain in particular.

AFTER enumerating the great Actions of the Confederate Armies under the Command of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, Mr. Steele

observes, in the Bitterness of his Soul, that the British General, *however unaccountable it may be to Posterity, was not permitted to enjoy the Fruits of his glorious Labour.* Ten Years Fruits, it seems, were not sufficient, and yet they were the *fruitfullest* Campaigns that ever any General cropt. However, I cannot but hope that Posterity will not be left in the Dark, but some Care taken both of Her Majesty's Glory, and the Reputation of those she employs. An impartial Historian may tell the World (and the next Age will easily believe what it continues to feel) that the Avarice and Ambition of a few factious, insolent Subjects, had almost destroyed their Country, by continuing a ruinous War, in Conjunction with Allies, for whose Sakes principally we fought, who refused to bear their just Proportion of the Charge, and were connived at in their Refusal, for private Ends: That these factious People treated the best and kindest of Sovereigns with Insolence, Cruelty, and Ingratitude (of which he will be able to produce several Instances;) That they encouraged Persons and Principles alien from our Religion and Government in order to strengthen their Faction; He will tell the Reasons why the General and *first Minister* were seduced to be Heads of this Faction, contrary to the Opinions they had always professed. Such an Historian will shew many Reasons, which made it necessary to remove the General and his Friends, who, knowing the Bent of the Nation was against them, expected to lose their Power when the War was at an End. Particularly, the Historian will discover the whole Intrigue of the Duke of Marlborough's endeavouring to procure a Commission to be *General for Life*; wherein Justice will be done to a Person at that Time of high Station in the Law, who (I mention it to his Honour)

Honour) advised the Duke, when he was consulted upon it, not to accept of such a *Commission*. By these, and many other Instances which Time will bring to Light, it may perhaps appear not very unaccountable to Posterity, why this great Man was dismissed at last; but rather why he was dismissed no sooner.

BUT this is entering into a wide Field. I shall therefore leave *Posterity* to the Information of better Historians than the Author of the *Crisis*, or myself; and go on to inform the present Age in some Facts, which this great Orator and Politician thinks fit to misrepresent with the utmost Degree either of natural or wilful Ignorance. He asserts, that in the Duke of Ormonde's Campaign, *After a Suspension of Arms between Great Britain and France, proclaimed at the Head of the Armies, the British, in the midst of the Enemy's Garrisons, withdrew themselves from their Confederates.* The Fact is directly otherwise; for the *British* Troops were most infamously deserted by the Confederates, after all that could be urged by the Duke of Ormonde and the Earl of Strafford to press the Confederate Generals not to forsake them. The Duke was directed to avoid engaging in any Action until he had further Orders, because an Account of the King of Spain's Renunciation was every Day expected: This the *Imperialists* and *Dutch* knew well enough; and therefore proposed to the Duke, in that very Juncture, to engage the *French*, for no other Reason but to render desperate all the QUEEN's Measures towards a Peace. Was not the certain Possession of *Dunkirk* of equal Advantage to the Uncertainty of a Battle? A whole Campaign under the Duke of Marlborough, with such an Acquisition, although at the Cost of many thousand Lives, and several Millions of Money,

would have been thought very gloriously ended.

NEITHER, after all, was it a new thing, either in the *British* General, or the *Dutch* Deputies, to refuse fighting, when they did not approve it. When the Duke of *Marlborough* was going to invest *Bouchain* the Deputies of the *States* pressed him, in vain, to engage the Enemy; and one of them was so far discontented upon his Grace's Refusal, that he presently became a Partizan of the Peace; yet I do not remember any Clamour then raised here against the Duke upon that Account. Again, when the *French* invaded *Doway*, after the Confederates had deserted the Duke of *Ormonde*, Prince *Eugene* was violently bent upon a Battle, and said, they should never have another so good an Opportunity; but Monsieur ———, a private Deputy, rose up, and opposed it so far, that the Prince was forced to desist. Was it then more criminal in the Duke of *Ormonde* to refuse fighting, by express Command of the QUEEN, and in order to get Possession of *Dunkirk*, than for the Duke of *Marlborough* to give the same Refusal, without any such Orders, or any such Advantage? Or shall a *Dutch* Deputy assume more Power than the QUEEN of *Great Britain's* General, acting by the immediate Commands of his Sovereign?

THE *Emperor and the Empire* (says Mr. Steele, by Way of Admiration) *continue the War!* Is his *Imperial* Majesty able to continue it or no? If he be, then *Great Britain* hath been strangely used for ten Years past: Then how came it to pass, that of above thirty thousand Men, in his Service in *Italy* at the time of the Battle of *Turin*, there were not above four thousand paid by himself? If he be not able to continue it, why does he go on? The Reasons are clear; because the War only affects the
Princes

Princes of the Empire (whom he is willing enough to expose) but not his own Dominions. Besides, the *Imperial* Ministers are in daily Expectation of the *QUEEN's* Death, which they hope will give a new Turn to Affairs, and rekindle the War in *Europe* upon the old Foot; and we know how the Ministers of that Court publickly assign it for a Reason of their Obstinacy against Peace, that they hope for a sudden Revolution in *England*. In the mean time, this Appearance of the *Emperor's* being forsaken by his Ally, will serve to increase the Clamour, both here and in *Holland*, against her Majesty, and those she employs.

MR. Steele says, *there can be no Crime in affirming (if it be Truth) that the House of Bourbon is at this Juncture become more formidable, and bids fairer for an universal Monarchy and to engross the whole Trade of Europe, than it did before the War.*

No Crime in affirming it, if it be Truth. I will for once allow his Proposition. But if it be false, then I affirm, that whoever advanceth so seditious a Falshood, deserveth to be hanged. Doth he mean by the House of *Bourbon*, the two Kings of *France* and *Spain*? If so, I reject his Meaning, which would insinuate, that the Interests and Designs of both those Princes will be the same; whereas they are more opposite than those of any two other Monarchs in *Christendom*. This is the old foolish Slander so frequently flung upon the Peace, and as frequently refuted. These factious Undertakers of the Press write with great Advantage; they strenuously affirm a thousand Falshoods, without Fear, Wit, Conscience, or Knowledge; and we, who answer them, must be at the Expence of an Argument for each; after which, in the very next Pamphlet, we see the same Assertions produced again, without the least Notice

of what hath been said to disprove them. By the House of *Bourbon* doth he mean only the *French* King for the Time being? If so, and his Assertion be true, then that Prince must either deal with the Devil, or else the Money and Blood spent in our ten Years Victories against him, might as well have continued in the Purfes and Veins of her Majesty's Subjects.

But the *particular* Assertions of this Author are easier detected than his *general* ones; I shall therefore proceed upon examining the former. For Instance: I desire him to ask the *Dutch*, who can best inform him, *Why they delivered up Traerback to the Imperialists?* For, as to the *QUEEN*, her Majesty was never once consulted in it; whatever his Preceptors, the Politicians of *Button's* Coffee-house, may have informed him to the contrary.

MR. *Steele* affirms, that *the French have begun the Demolition of Dunkirk contemptuously and arbitrarily their own Way.* The Governor of the Town, and those Gentlemen intrusted with the Inspection of this Work, do assure me, that the Fact is altogether otherwise; that the Method prescribed by those whom Her Majesty employs, hath been exactly followed, and that the Works are already demolished. I will venture to tell him further, that the Demolition was so long deferred, in order to remove those Difficulties which the *Barrier Treaty* hath put us under; and the Event hath shewn, that it was prudent to proceed no faster, until those Difficulties were got over. The *Mole and Harbour* could not be destroyed until the Ships were got out; which, by Reason of some profound Secrets of State, did not happen until the other Day. Who gave him *those just Suspicions, that the Mole and Harbour will never be destroyed?* What is it that he would now insinuate?

That

That the Ministry is bribed to leave the most important Part of the Work undone; or that the *Pretender* is to invade us from thence; or that the *QUEEN* hath entered into a Conspiracy with her Servants to prevent the good Effects of the Peace, for no other End, but to lose the Affections of her People, and endanger Herself.

INSTEAD of any further Information, which I could easily give, but which no honest Man can want, I venture to affirm, that the Mole and Harbour of *Dunkirk* will, in a short Time, be most effectually destroyed; and, at the same Time, I venture to prophesy, that neither Mr. *Steele*, nor his Faction, will ever confess they believe it.

AFTER all, it is a little hard that the *QUEEN* cannot be allowed to demolish this Town in whatever Manner she pleaseth to fancy. Mr. *Steele* must have it done his own Way, and is angry the *French* have pretended to do it theirs; and yet he wrongs them into the Bargain. For my own Part, I do seriously think, the most *Christian* King to be a much better Friend of her Majesty's than Mr. *Steele*, or any of his Faction. Besides, it is to be considered, that he is a Monarch, and a Relation; and therefore if I were a Privy Counsellor, and my Advice to be asked, which of those two * GENTLEMEN BORN should have the Direction in the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, I would give it for the former; because I look upon Mr. *Steele*, in Quality of a Member of his Party, to be much more skilful in *demolishing at Home* than *Abroad*.

THERE is a Prospect of more Danger to the Balance of *Europe*, and to the Trade of *Britain*, from the *Emperor* over-running *Italy*, than from *France*.

* Mr. STEELE often styles himself so.

over-running the *Empire*; that his *Imperial* Majesty entertains such Thoughts, is visible to the World; And, although little can be said to justify many Actions of the *French* King, yet the worst of them have never equalled the Emperor's arbitrary keeping the Possession of *Milan*, directly contrary to his Oath, and to the express Words of the *Golden Bull*; which oblige him to deliver up every *Fief* that falls; or else they must all, in the Course of Time, lapse into his own Hands.

I WAS at a Loss who it was that Mr. Steele hinted at some time ago by *the powerful Hand, that deals out Crowns and Kingdoms all around us*: I now plainly find, he meant no other Hand but his own. He hath dealt out the Crown of *Spain* to *France*; to *France* he hath given Leave to invade the *Empire* next Spring with two hundred thousand Men, and now at last he deals to *France* the *Imperial* Dignity; and so farewell Liberty; Europe will be French. But, in order to bring all this about, *the Capital of Austria, the Residence of his Imperial Majesty*, must continue to be visited by the *Plague*, of which the *Emperor* must die, and so the Thing is done.

WHY should not I venture to deal out one Sceptre in my Turn, as well as Mr. Steele? I therefore deal out the *Empire* to the *Elector of Saxony*, upon Failure of Issue to this *Emperor* at his Death; provided the Whigs will prevail on the Son to turn *Papist*, to get an *Empire*, as they did upon the Father to get a *Kingdom*. Or, if this Prince be not approved of, I deal out, in his Stead, the *Elector of Bavaria*: And, in one or the other of these, I dare engage to have all *Christendom* to second me, whatever the Spleen, in the shape of Politicks, may dictate to the Author of the *Crisis*.

THE Design of Mr. Steele, in representing the Circumstances of the Affairs of Europe, is to signify to the World, that all Europe is put in the high Road to Slavery by the Corruption of Her Majesty's present Ministers; and so he goes on to *Portugal*; which having, during the War, supplied us with Gold in exchange for our Woollen Manufacture, hath only at present a Suspension of Arms for its Protection, to last no longer than until the *Catalonians* are reduced; and then the old Pretensions of Spain to *Portugal* will be revived: And *Portugal*, when once enslaved by Spain, falls naturally, with the rest of Europe, into the Gulph of France. In the mean Time, let us see what Relief a little Truth can give this unhappy Kingdom. That *Portugal* hath yet no more than a Suspension of Arms, they may thank themselves, because they came so late into the Treaty; and, that they came so late, they may thank the Whigs, whose false Representations they were so weak to believe. However, the QUEEN hath voluntarily given them a Guaranty to defend them against Spain, until the Peace shall be made; and such Terms, after the Peace, are stipulated for them, as the *Portuguese* themselves are contented with.

HAVING mentioned the *Catalonians*, he puts the Question, *Who can name the Catalonians without a Tear?* That can I; for he hath told so many melancholy Stories without one Syllable of Truth, that he hath blunted the Edge of my Fears, and I shall not be startled at the worst he can say. What he affirms concerning the *Catalonians* is included in the following Particulars: First, *That they were drawn into the War by the Encouragement of the Maritime Powers*; by which are understood *England* and *Holland*. But he is too good a Friend of the Dutch, to give them any Part of the Blame: Secondly, *That they*
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are

are now abandoned and exposed to the Resentment of an enraged Prince: Thirdly, That they always opposed the Person and Interest of that Prince, who is their present King. Lastly, That the Doom is dreadful of those who shall, in the Sight of God, be esteemed their Destroyers. And, if we interpret the Insinuation he makes, according to his own Mind, the Destruction of those People must be imputed to the present Ministry.

I AM sometimes, in Charity, disposed to hope, that this Writer is not always sensible of the flagrant Falshoods he utters, but is either byassed by an Inclination to believe the worst, or a Want of Judgment to chuse his Informers. That the *Catalonians* were drawn into the War by the Encouragement of Her Majesty, should not in Decency have been affirmed until about Fifty Years hence; when it might be supposed there would be no living Witness left to disprove it. It was only upon the Assurances of a Revolt, given by the Prince of *Hesse*, and others, and their Invitation, that the QUEEN was prevailed with to send her Forces upon that Expedition. When *Barcelona* was taken by a most unexpected Accident, of a Bomb lighting on the Magazine, then indeed the *Catalonians* revolted, having before submitted, and sworn Allegiance to *Philip*, as much as any other Province of *Spain*. Upon the Peace between that Crown and *Britain*, the QUEEN, in order to ease the Emperor, and save his Troops, stipulated with King *Philip* for a Neutrality in *Italy*, and that his Imperial Majesty should have Liberty to evacuate *Catalonia*; upon Condition of absolute Indemnity to the *Catalans*, with an entire Restitution to their Honours, Dignities, and Estates. As this Neutrality was never observed by the Emperor, so he never effectually evacuated *Catalonia*; for although he

he sent away the main Body, he left behind many Officers and private Man, who now spirit up and assist those obstinate People to continue in their Rebellion. It is true indeed, that King *Philip* did not absolutely restore the *Catalans* to *all* their old Privileges, of which they never made other Use than as an Encouragement to rebel; but to the same Privileges with his Subjects of *Castile*, particularly to the Liberty of Trading, and having Employments in the *West-Indies*, which they never enjoyed before. Besides, the QUEEN reserved to herself the Power of procuring farther Immunities for them, wherein the most *Christian* King was obliged to second her: For his *Catholick* Majesty intended no more, than to retrench those Privileges, under the Pretext of which they now rebel, as they had formerly done in favour of *France*. *How dreadful then must be the Doom of those*, who hindered these People from submitting to the gentle Terms offered them by their Prince! And who, although they be conscious of their own Inability to furnish one single Ship for the Support of the *Catalans*, are, at this Instant, spurring them on to their Ruin, by Promises of Aid and Protection.

THUS much in Answer to Mr. *Steele's* Account of the Affairs of *Europe*; from which he deduceth the Universal Monarchy of *France*, and the Danger of I know not how many *Popish* Successors to *Britain*. His political Reflections are as good as his Facts. *We must observe*, says he, *that the Person who seems to be the most favoured by the French King in the late Treaties, is the Duke of Savoy*. Extremely right; for whatever that Prince got by the Peace, he owes entirely to Her Majesty, as a just Reward for his having been so firm and useful an Ally; neither was *France* brought with more Difficulty to
yield

yield any one Point, than that of allowing the Duke such a Barrier as the QUEEN insisted on.

HE is become the most powerful Prince in Italy. I had rather see him so than the Emperor. He is supposed to have entered into a secret and strict Alliance with the House of Bourbon. This is one of those Facts wherein I am most inclined to believe the Author, because it is what he must needs be utterly ignorant of, and therefore might possibly be true.

I THOUGHT indeed we should be safe from all Popish Successors as far as Italy, because of the prodigious Clutter about sending the Pretender thither. But they will never agree where to fix their Longitude. The Duke of Savoy is the more dangerous for removing to Sicily: He adds to our Fears for being too near. So whether France conquer Germany, or be in Peace and good Understanding with it; either Event will put us and Holland at the Mercy of France, which hath a Quiver full of Pretenders at its back, whenever the Chevalier shall die.

THIS was just the Logick of poor Prince Butler, a splenetick Madman, whom every body may remember about the Town. Prince Pamphilio in Italy employed Emissaries to torment Prince Butler here. But what if Prince Pamphilio die? Why then, he had left in his Will, that his Heirs and Executors torment Prince Butler for ever.

I CANNOT think it a Misfortune, what Mr. Steele affirms, that treasonable Books lately dispersed among us, striking apparently at the Hanover Succession, have passed almost without Observation from the Generality of the People; because it seems a certain Sign, that the Generality of the People are well disposed to that illustrious Family: But I look upon it as a great Evil, to see seditious Books dispersed among us, apparently

rently striking at the QUEEN, and her Administration, at the Constitution in Church and State, and at all Religion; yet passing without Observation from the Generality of those in Power: But whether this Remissness may be imputed to *White-Hall*, or *Westminster-Hall*, is other Men's Business to enquire. Mr. Steele knows in his Conscience, that the *Queries concerning the Pretender* issued from one of his own Party. And as for the poor Nonjuring Clergyman, who was trusted with committing to the Press a late Book on the Subject of *Hereditary Right*, by a Strain of the *Summum Jus* he is now, as I am told, with half a score Children, starving and rotting among Thieves and Pick-pockets, in the common Room of a stinking Jail^a. I have never seen either the Book or the Publisher; however, I would fain ask *one single Person*^b in the World a Question; Why he hath so often drank the abdicated King's Health upon his Knees? — But the Transition is natural and frequent, and I shall not trouble him for an Answer.

It is the hardest Case in the World, that Mr. Steele should take up the artificial Reports of his own Faction, and then put them off upon the World as *additional Fears of a Popish Successor*. I can assure him, that no good Subject of the QUEEN is under the least Concern, whether the Pretender be converted or no, farther than their Wishes, that all Men would embrace the true Religion. But, reporting backwards and forwards upon this Point, helps to keep up the Noise, and is a Topick for Mr. Steele to enlarge himself upon, by shewing how little we can depend on such Conversions; by collecting a

^a Upon his Conviction he was committed to the *Marshalsea*, and, at his Sentence, to the *Queen's-Bench* for three Years.

^b Parker, afterward Lord Chancellor.

List of *Popish* Cruelties, and repeating, after himself and the Bishop of *Sarum*, the dismal Effects likely to follow upon the Return of that Superstition among us.

BUT as this Writer is reported by those who know him, to be what the *French* call *Journalier*, his Fear and Courage operating according to the Weather in our uncertain Climate ; I am apt to believe the two last Pages of his *Crisis* were written on a *Sun-shine Day*. This I guess from the general Tenor of them, and particularly from an unwary Assertion, which, if he believes as firmly as I do, will at once overthrow all his foreign and Domestick Fears of a *Popish* Successor. *As divided a People as we are, those who stand for the House of Hanover, are INFINITELY superior in Number, Wealth, Courage, and all Arts, Military and Civil too, in the contrary Interest ; besides which we have the Laws, I say, the Laws on our Side. The Laws, I say, the Laws.* This elegant Repetition is, I think, a little out of Place ; for the Stress might better have been laid upon so great a Majority of the Nation ; without which, I doubt, the Laws would be of little Weight ; although they be very good additional Securities. And, if what he here asserts be true, as it certainly is, although he assert it (for I allow even the Majority of his own Party to be against the *Pretender*) there can be no Danger of a *Popish* Successor, except from the unreasonable Jealousies of the *best* among that Party, and from the Malice, the Avarice, or Ambition of the *worst* ; without which *Britain* would be able to defend her Succession against all her Enemies both at Home and Abroad. Most of the Dangers from Abroad, which he enumerates as the Consequences of this very bad Peace made by the *QUEEN*, and approved by Parliament,

liament, must have subsisted under any Peace at all; unless, among other Projects equally feasible, we could have stipulated to cut the Throats of every *Popish* Relation to the Royal Family.

WELL, by this Author's own Confession, a Number infinitely superior, and the best circumstantiated imaginable, are for the *Succession* in the the House of *Hanover*. This *Succession* is established, confirmed, and secured by several Laws; Her Majesty's repeated Declarations, and the Oaths of all her Subjects, engage both her and them to preserve what those Laws have settled. This is a Security indeed, a *Security* adequate at least to the Importance of the thing; and yet, according to the Whig Scheme, as delivered to us by Mr. *Steele*, and his Coadjutors, is altogether insufficient; and the *Succession* will be defeated, the *Pretender* brought in, and *Popery* established among us, without the farther Assistance of this Writer and his Faction.

AND what Securities have our Adversaries substituted in the Place of these? A Club of Politicians, where *Jenny Mann* presides; A *Crisis* written by Mr. *Steele*; A Confederacy of knavish Stock-jobbers to ruin Credit; A Report of the QUEEN'S Death; An *Effigies* of the *Pretender* run twice through the Body by a valiant Peer; A Speech by the Author of the *Crisis*; And, to sum up all, an unlimited Freedom of reviling Her Majesty, and those she employs.

I HAVE now finished the most disgusting Task that ever I undertook. I could with more Ease have written *three* dull Pamphlets, than remarked upon the Falshoods and Absurdities of *One*. But I was quite confounded last *Wednesday*, when the Printer came with another Pamphlet in his Hand, written
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by the same Author, and entitled, *The Englishman, being the Close of the Paper so called, &c.* He desired I would read it over, and consider it in a Paper by itself; which last I absolutely refused. Upon Perusal I found it chiefly an Invective against *Toby*, the Ministry, the *Examiner*, the Clergy, the QUEEN, and the *Post-Boy*; yet, at the same Time, with great Justice exclaiming against those who presumed to offer the least Word against the Heads of that Faction whom Her Majesty discarded. The Author likewise proposeth an *equal Division of Favour and Employments* between the *Whigs* and *Tories*; for if the former can have no Part or Portion in David, they desire no longer to be his Subjects. He insists, that Her Majesty hath exactly followed Monsieur Tughe's Memorial against demolishing of Dunkirk. He reflects, with great Satisfaction, on the Good already done to his Country by the Crisis. *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, &c.* — He gives us Hopes, that he will leave off Writing, and consult his own Quiet and Happiness; and concludes with a Letter to a Friend at Court. I suppose, by the Style of old Friend, and the like, it must be some body there of his own Level; among whom his Party have, indeed, more Friends than I could wish. In this Letter he asserts, that the present Ministers were not educated in the Church of England, but are new Converts from Presbytery. Upon which I can only reflect, how blind the Malice of that Man must be, who invents a groundless Lie, in order to defame his Superiors, which would be no Disgrace, if it had been a Truth. And he concludes, with making three Demands, for the Satisfaction of himself, and other Malecontents. First, the Demolition of the Harbour of Dunkirk. Secondly, that Great-Britain and France would heartily join against the exorbitant Power

Power of the Duke of Lorrain, and force the Pretender from his Asylum at Bar le Duc. Lastly, That his Electoral Highness of Hanover would be so grateful to signify to all the World the perfect good Understanding he hath with the Court of England, in as plain Terms as Her Majesty was pleased to declare she had with that House on Her Part.

As to the first of these Demands, I will venture to undertake it shall be granted ; but then Mr. Steele, and his Brother *Malecontents*, must promise to believe the Thing is done, after those employed have made their Report ; or else bring Vouchers to disprove it. Upon the second ; I cannot tell whether Her Majesty will engage in a War against the Duke of *Lorrain*, to force him to remove the Pretender ; but I believe, if the Parliament should think it necessary to address upon such an Occasion, the QUEEN will move that Prince to send him away. His last Demand, offered under the Title of a *Wish*, is of so insolent and seditious a Strain, that I care not to touch it. Here he directly chargeth Her Majesty with delivering a Falshood to her Parliament from the Throne ; and declares he will not believe her, until the Elector of *Hanover* himself shall vouch for the Truth of what she hath so solemnly affirmed.

I AGREE with this Writer, that it is an idle Thing in his Antagonists to trouble themselves upon the *Articles of his Birth, Education, or Fortune* ; for whoever writes at this Rate of his Sovereign, to whom he owes so many personal Obligations, I should never enquire whether he be a GENTLEMAN BORN, but whether he be a HUMAN CREATURE.

THE
CONDUCT
OF THE
ALLIES, &c.

*Partem tibi Gallia nostri
Eripuit : Partem duris Hispania bellis :
Pars jacet Hesperia, totoque exercitus orbe
Te vincente perit.*

*Odimus accipitrem quia semper vivit in armis.
Victrix Provincia plorat.*

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11

P R E F A C E.

I Cannot sufficiently admire the Industry of a sort of Men, wholly out of Favour with the Prince and People, and openly professing a separate Interest from the Bulk of the Landed Men, who yet are able to raise, at this Juncture, so great a Clamour against a Peace, without offering one single Reason, but what we find in their Ballads. I lay it down for a Maxim, That no reasonable Man, whether Whig or Tory (since it is necessary to use those foolish Terms) can be of Opinion for continuing the War, upon the Foot it now is, unless he be a Gainer by it, or hopes it may occasion some new Turn of Affairs at home, to the Advantage of his Party; or, lastly, unless he be very ignorant of the Kingdom's Condition, and by what Means we have been reduced to it. Upon the two first Cases, where Interest is concerned, I have nothing to say: But as to the last, I think it highly necessary that the Publick should be freely and impartially told what Circumstances they are in, after what Manner they have been treated by those, whom they have trusted so many Years with the Disposal of their Blood and Treasure, and what the Consequences of this Management are like to be upon themselves and their Posterity.

Those who, either by Writing or Discourse, have undertaken to defend the Proceedings of the late Ministry, in the Management of the War, and of the Treaty at Gertruydenburg, have spent Time in celebrating the Conduct and Valour of our Leaders, and their Troops, in summing up the Victories they have gained, and the Towns they have taken. Then they tell us, what high Articles were insisted on by our Ministers, and those of the Confederates, and what Pains both were at in persuading France to accept them. But nothing of this

can give the least Satisfaction to the just Complaints of the Kingdom. As to the War, our Grievances are, that a greater Load has been laid on us, than was either just or necessary, or than we have been able to bear; that the grossest Impositions have been submitted to, for the Advancement of private Wealth and Power, or in order to forward the more dangerous Designs of a Faction; to both which a Peace would have put an End; and that the Part of the War which was chiefly our Province, which would have been most beneficial to us, and destructive to the Enemy, was wholly neglected. As to a Peace, we complain of being deluded by a Mock-Treaty; in which those who negotiated, took Care to make such Demands, as they knew were impossible to be complied with; and therefore might securely press every Article, as if they were in earnest.

These are some of the Points I design to treat of in the following Discourse; with several others which I thought it necessary, at this Time, for the Kingdom to be informed of. I think I am not mistaken in those Facts I mention; at least not in any Circumstance so material as to weaken the Consequences I draw from them.

After Ten Years Wars with perpetual Success, to tell us it is yet impossible to have a good Peace, is very surprising, and seems so different from what hath ever happened in the World before, that a Man of any Party may be allowed suspecting, that we have been either ill used, or have not made the most of our Victories, and might therefore desire to know where the Difficulty lay. Then it is natural to enquire into our present Condition; how long we shall be able to go on at this Rate; what the Consequences may be upon the present and future Ages; and whether a Peace, without that impracticable Point, which some People do so much insist on, be really ruinous in itself, or equally so with the Continuance of the War.

T H E

THE
CONDUCT
OF THE
ALLIES,
And of the
LATE MINISTRY,

In beginning and carrying on the present War.

Written in the Year 1712.

THE Motives that may engage a wise Prince or State in War, I take to be one or more of these: Either to check the overgrown Power of some ambitious Neighbour; to recover what hath been unjustly taken from them; to revenge some Injury they have received (which all political Casuists allow;) to assist some Ally in a just Quarrel; or, lastly, to defend themselves when they are invaded. In all these Cases the Writers upon Politicks admit a War to be justly undertaken. The last is what hath been usually called *pro aris & focis*;

56 *The CONDUCT of the ALLIES.*

focis: where no Expence or Endeavour can be too great, because all we have is at stake, and consequently our utmost Force to be exerted; and the Dispute is soon determined, either in Safety or utter Destruction. But in the other four, I believe it will be found that no Monarch or Commonwealth did ever engage beyond a certain Degree; never proceeding so far as to exhaust the Strength and Substance of their Country by Anticipations and Loans, which, in a few Years, must put them in a worse Condition than any they could reasonably apprehend from those Evils, for the preventing of which they first entered into the War; because this would be to run into real, infallible Ruin, only in hopes to remove what might perhaps but appear so by a probable Speculation.

AND as a War should be undertaken upon a just and prudent Motive, so it is still more obvious, that a Prince ought maturely to consider the Condition he is in when he enters on it; whether his Coffers be full, his Revenues clear of Debts, his People numerous and rich, by a long Peace, and free Trade, not over-pressed with many burthensome Taxes; no violent Faction ready to dispute his just Prerogative, and thereby weaken his Authority at home, and lessen his Reputation abroad. For, if the contrary of all this happen to be his Case, he will hardly be persuaded to disturb the World's Quiet, and his own, while there is any other Way left of preserving the latter with Honour and Safety.

SUPPOSING the War to have commenced upon a just Motive; the next thing to be considered, is, When a Prince ought, in Prudence, to receive the Overtures of a Peace; which I take to be, either when the Enemy is ready to yield the Point originally contended for; or when that Point is found impossible

fible to be ever obtained ; or when contending any longer, although with Probability of gaining that Point at last, would put such a Prince and his People in a worse Condition than the present Loss of it. All which Considerations are of much greater Force where a War is managed by an Alliance of many Confederates, which, in the Variety of Interests among the several Parties, is liable to so many unforeseen Accidents.

IN a Confederate War it ought to be considered, which Party has the deepest Share in the Quarrel ; for although each may have their particular Reasons, yet one or two among them will probably be more concerned than the rest, and therefore ought to bear the greatest Part of the Burthen, in proportion to their Strength. For Example: Two Princes may be Competitors for a Kingdom, and it will be your Interest to take the part of him, who will probably allow you good Conditions of Trade, rather than of the other, who possibly may not. However, that Prince whose Cause you espouse, although never so vigorously, is the Principal in that War, and you, properly speaking, but a second. Or a Commonwealth may lie in Danger to be over-run by a powerful Neighbour, which, in Time, may produce very bad Consequences upon your Trade and Liberty : It is therefore necessary, as well as prudent, to lend them Assistance, and help them to win a strong secure Frontier ; but as they must in Course, be the first and greatest Sufferers ; so, in Justice, they ought to bear the greatest Weight. If a House be on fire, it behoves all in the Neighbourhood to run with Buckets to quench it ; but the Owner is sure to be undone first ; and it is not impossible that those at next Door may escape, by a Shower from Heaven, or
the

the Stilness of the Weather, or some other favourable Accident.

BUT if an Ally, who is not so immediately concerned in the good or ill Fortune of the War, be so generous as to contribute more than the principal Party, and even more in proportion to his Abilities, he ought at least to have his Share in what is conquered from the Enemy; or, if his Romantick Disposition transport him so far as to expect little or nothing from this, he might, however, hope, that the Principals would make it up in Dignity and Respect; and he would surely think it monstrous to find them intermeddling in his Domestick Affairs, prescribing what Servants he should keep or dismiss, pressing him perpetually with the most unreasonable Demands, and, at every Turn, threatening to break the Alliance if he will not comply.

FROM these Reflections upon War in general, I descend to consider those Wars, wherein *England* hath been engaged since the Conquest. In the Civil Wars of the *Barons*, as well as those between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, great Destruction was made of the Nobility and Gentry; new Families raised, and old ones extinguished; but the Money spent on both Sides was employed and circulated at Home; no publick Debts contracted; and a very few Years of Peace quickly set all right again.

THE like may be affirmed even of that unnatural Rebellion against King *Charles I.* The Usurpers maintained great Armies in constant Pay, had almost continual War with *Spain* or *Holland*; but managing it by their Fleets, they increased very much the Riches of the Kingdom, instead of exhausting them.

OUR

OUR Foreign Wars were generally against *Scotland* or *France*; the first being in this Island, carried no Money out of the Kingdom, and were seldom of long Continuance. During our first Wars with *France*, we possessed great Dominions in that Country, where we preserved some Footing till the Reign of Queen *Mary*; and although some of our latter Princes made very chargeable Expeditions thither, a Subsidy, and two or three Fifteenths cleared all the Debt. Besides, our Victories were then of some Use, as well as Glory; for we were so prudent to fight, and so happy to conquer, only for ourselves.

THE *Dutch* Wars in the Reign of King *Charles II.* although begun and carried on under a very corrupt Administration, and much to the Dishonour of the Crown, did indeed keep the King needy and poor, by discontinuing, or discontenting his Parliament, when he most needed their Assistance; but neither left any Debt upon the Nation, nor carried any Money out of it.

AT the *Revolution*, a general War broke out in *Europe*, wherein many Princes joined in Alliance against *France*, to check the ambitious Designs of that Monarch; and here the *Emperor*, the *Dutch*, and *England* were Principals. About this Time the Custom first began among us - of borrowing Millions upon Funds of Interest. It was pretended, that the War could not possibly last above one or two Campaigns; and that the Debts contracted might be easily paid in a few Years, by a gentle Tax, without burthening the Subject. But the true Reason for embracing this Expedient, was the Security of a new Prince, not firmly settled on the Throne. People were tempted to lend, by great Premiums, and large Interest; and it concerned them nearly to preserve that Government,

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vernment, which they had trusted with their Money. The Person * said to have been Author of so detestable a Project, lived to see some of its fatal Consequences, whereof his Grand-Children will not see an End. And this pernicious Counsel closed very well with the Posture of Affairs at that Time: For a Set of Upstarts, who had little or no Part in the *Revolution*, but valued themselves upon their Noise and pretended Zeal, when the Work was over were got into Credit at Court, by the Merit of becoming Undertakers and Projectors of Loans and Funds: These, finding that the Gentlemen of Estates were not willing to come into their Measures, fell upon those new Schemes of raising Money, in order to create a Moneyed Interest, that might in Time vie with the Landed, and of which they hoped to be at the Head.

THE Ground of the first War, for ten Years after the *Revolution*, as to the Part we had in it, was, to make *France* acknowledge the late King, and to recover *Hudson's Bay*. But, during that whole War, the Sea was almost entirely neglected, and the greatest Part of Six Millions annually employed to enlarge the Frontier of the *Dutch*. For the King was a General, but not an Admiral; and, although King of *England*, was a Native of *Holland*.

AFTER ten Years Fighting to little purpose; after the Loss of above a hundred thousand Men, and a Debt remaining of twenty Millions, we at length hearkened to the Terms of Peace, which was concluded with great Advantages to the *Empire* and *Holland*, but none at all to us; and clogged soon after with the famous Treaty of *Partition*; by which *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Lorrain*, were to be added to the

* Doctor Burnet Bishop of Sarum.

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French Dominions; or if that Crown should think fit to set aside the Treaty, upon the *Spaniards* refusing to accept it, as they declared they would, to the several Parties at the very Time of transacting it, then the *French* would have Pretensions to the whole Monarchy. And so it proved in the Event; for the late King of *Spain*, reckoning it an Indignity to have his Territories cantoned out into Parcels by other Princes, during his own Life, and without his Consent, rather chose to bequeath the Monarchy entire to a younger Son of *France*; and this Prince was acknowledged for King of *Spain* both by Us and *Holland*.

It must be granted, that the Counsels of entering into this War were violently opposed by the *Church-Party*, who first advised the late King to acknowledge the Duke of *Anjou*; and particularly, it is affirmed, that a certain * *Great Person*, who was then in the Church Interest, told the King, in *November 1701*, That, since his Majesty was determined to engage in a War so contrary to his private Opinion, he could serve him no longer, and accordingly gave up his Employment; although he happened afterwards to change his Mind, when he was to be at the Head of the Treasury, and have the sole Management of Affairs at Home; while those Abroad were to be in the Hands of † *One*, whose Advantage, by all sorts of Ties, he was engaged to promote.

THE Declaration of War against *France* and *Spain*, made by Us and *Holland*, are dated within a few Days of each other. In that published by the *States*, they say very truly, That *they are nearest, and most exposed to the Fire; that they are block-*

* Earl of Godolphin.

† Duke of Marlborough.

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ed up on all Sides, and actually attacked by the Kings of France and Spain; that their Declaration is the Effect of an urging and pressing Necessity; with other Expressions to the same Purpose. They desire the Assistance of all Kings and Princes, &c. The Grounds of their Quarrel with France, are such as only affect themselves, or at least more immediately than any other Prince or State; such as, the French refusing to grant the Tariff promised by the Treaty of Ryswick; the loading the Dutch Inhabitants, settled in France, with excessive Duties, contrary to the said Treaty; the Violation of the Partition-Treaty, by the French accepting the King of Spain's Will, and threatening the States, if they would not comply; the seizing the Spanish Netherlands by the French Troops, and turning out the Dutch, who, by Permission of the late King of Spain, were in Garrison there; by which Means that Republick was deprived of her Barrier, contrary to the Treaty of Partition, where it was particularly stipulated, that the Spanish Netherlands should be left to the Archduke. They alledged, that the French King governed Flanders as his own, although under the Name of his Grand-Son, and sent great Numbers of Troops thither to fright them; that he had seized the City and Citadel of Liege; had possessed himself of several Places in the Archbishoprick of Cologne, and maintained Troops in the County of Wolfenbittel, in order to block up the Dutch on all Sides; and caused his Resident to give in a Memorial, wherein he threatened the States to act against them, if they refused complying with the Contents of that Memorial.

THE QUEEN's Declaration of War is grounded upon the *Grand Alliance*, as this was upon the unjust Usurpations and Encroachments of the French King;

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King; whereof the Instances produced are, *His keeping in Possession a great Part of the Spanish Dominions, seizing Milan and the Spanish Low Countries, making himself Master of Cadiz, &c. And, instead of giving Satisfaction in these Points, his putting an Indignity and Affront on her Majesty and Kingdoms, by declaring the pretended Prince of Wales K. of England, &c.* which last was the only personal Quarrel we had in the War; and even this was positively denied by *France*; that King being willing to acknowledge Her Majesty.

I THINK it plainly appears by both Declarations, that *England* ought no more to have been a Principal in this War, than *Prussia*, or any other Power, who came afterwards into that Alliance. *Holland* was first in Danger, the *French* Troops being at that Time just at the Gates of *Nimeguen*. But the Complaints made in our Declaration do all, except the last, as much or more concern almost every Prince in *Europe*.

FOR, among the several Parties who came first or last into this Confederacy, there were few but who, in proportion, had more to get or to lose, to hope or to fear, from the good or ill Success of this War than we. The *Dutch* took up Arms to defend themselves from immediate Ruin; and, by a successful War, they proposed to have a larger Extent of Country, and a better Frontier against *France*. The *Emperor* hoped to recover the Monarchy of *Spain*, or some Part of it, for his younger Son, chiefly at the Expence of us and *Holland*. The King of *Portugal* had received Intelligence, that *Philip* designed to renew the old Pretensions of *Spain* upon that Kingdom, which is surrounded by the other on all Sides, except towards the Sea; and could therefore only be defended by *Maritime Powers*. This, with the
advan-

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advantageous Terms offered by *K. Charles*, as well as by us, prevailed upon that Prince to enter into the Alliance. The Duke of *Savoy's* Temptations and Fears were yet greater: The main Charge of the War on that Side was to be supplied by *England*, and the Profit to redound to him. In case *Milan* should be conquered, it was stipulated, that his Highness should have the Duchy of *Montferrat*, belonging to the Duke of *Mantua*, the Provinces of *Alexandria* and *Valencia*, and *Lomellino*, with other Lands between the *Po* and the *Tanaro*, together with the *Vigevenasco*, or, in lieu of it, an Equivalent out of the Province of *Novara*, adjoining to its own State; besides whatever else could be taken from *France* on that Side by the Confederate Forces. Then he was in terrible Apprehensions of being surrounded by *France*, who had so many Troops in the *Milanese*, and might have easily swallowed up his whole Duchy.

THE rest of the Allies came in purely for Subsidies, whereof they sunk considerable Sums into their own Coffers, and refused to send their Contingent to the Emperor, alledging their Troops were already hired by *England* and *Holland*.

SOME Time after the Duke of *Anjou's* succeeding to the Monarchy of *Spain*, in Breach of the *Partition Treaty*, the Question here in *England* was, Whether the Peace should be continued, or a new War begun. Those who were for the former, alledged the Debts and Difficulties we laboured under; that both we and the *Dutch* had already acknowledged *Philip* for King of *Spain*; that the Inclinations of the *Spaniards* to the House of *Austria*, and their Aversion from that of *Bourbon*, were not so surely to be reckoned upon, as some would pretend; that we thought it a piece of Insolence, as well as Injustice,

justice, in the *French* to offer putting a King upon us, and the *Spaniards* would conceive we had as little Reason to force one upon them : that it was true, the Nature and Genius of those two People differed very much, and so would probably continue to do, as well under a King of *French* Blood, as one of *Austrian* ; but that, if we should engage in a War for dethroning the Duke of *Anjou*, we should certainly effect what, by the Progress and Operations of it, we endeavoured to prevent, I mean, an Union of Interest and Affections between the two Nations ; for the *Spaniards* must, of Necessity, call in *French* Troops to their Assistance ; this would introduce *French* Counsellors into King *Philip's* Court, and this, by Degrees, would habituate and reconcile the two Nations ; that, to assist King *Charles* by *English* and *Dutch* Forces, would render him odious to his new Subjects, who have nothing in so great Abomination as those whom they hold for *Heretics* ; that the *French* would, by this Means, become Masters of the Treasures in the *Spanish West Indies* ; that, in the last War, when *Spain*, *Cologne*, and *Bavaria*, were in our Alliance, and, by a modest Computation, brought sixty thousand Men into the Field against the common Enemy, when *Flanders*, the Seat of War, was on our Side, and his Majesty, a Prince of great Valour and Conduct, at the Head of the whole Confederate Army ; yet we had no Reason to boast of our Success ; how then should we be able to oppose *France* with those Powers against us, which would carry sixty thousand Men from us to the Enemy ; and so make us, upon the Balance, weaker, by one hundred and twenty thousand Men, at the Beginning of this War, that of that in 1688 ?

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ON the other Side, those whose Opinion, or some private Motives, inclined them to give their Advice for entering into a new War, alledged, how dangerous it would be for *England*, that *Philip* should be King of *Spain*; that we should have no Security for our Trade, while that Kingdom was subject to a Prince of the *Bourbon* Family, nor any Hopes of preserving the Balance of *Europe*, because the Grandfather would, in effect, be King, while his Grandson had but the Title, and thereby have a better Opportunity than ever of pursuing his Design for Universal Monarchy. These, and the like Arguments prevailed; and so, without offering at any other Remedy, without taking time to consider the Consequences, or to reflect on our own Condition, we hastily engaged in a War, which hath cost us sixty Millions; and after repeated, as well as unexpected, Success in Arms, hath put us, and our Posterity, in a worse Condition, not only than any of our Allies, but even our conquered Enemies themselves.

THE Part we have acted in the Conduct of this whole War, with reference to our Allies abroad, and to a prevailing Faction at home, is what I shall now particularly examine; where, I presume, it will appear, by plain Matters of Fact, that no Nation was ever so long, or so scandalously abused, by the Folly, the Temerity, the Corruption, and the Ambition of its domestick Enemies; or treated with so much Insolence, Injustice, and Ingratitude by its foreign Friends.

THIS will be manifest by proving the Three following Points:

First, THAT, against all manner of Prudence, or common Reason, we engaged in this War as Principals,

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Principals, when we ought to have acted only as Auxiliaries.

Secondly, THAT we spent all our Vigour in pursuing that Part of the War, which could least answer the End we proposed by beginning it; and made no Efforts at all where we could have most weakened the Common Enemy, and, at the same Time, enriched ourselves.

Lastly, THAT we suffered each of our Allies to break every Article in those Treaties and Agreements by which they were bound; and to lay the Burthen upon us.

UPON the first of these Points; That we ought to have entered into this War only as Auxiliaries: Let any Man reflect upon our Condition at that Time: Just come out of the most tedious, expensive, and unsuccessful War that ever *England* had been engaged in; sinking under heavy Debts, of a Nature and Degree never heard of by us, or our Ancestors; the Bulk of the Gentry and People heartily tired of the War, and glad of a Peace, although it brought no other Advantage but itself; no sudden Prospect of lessening our Taxes, which were grown as necessary to pay our Debts, as to raise Armies; a sort of artificial Wealth of Funds and Stocks in the Hands of those, who, for ten Years before, had been plundering the Publick; many Corruptions in every Branch of our Government that needed Reformation. Under these Difficulties, from which twenty Years Peace, and the wisest Management, could hardly recover us, we declare War against *France*, fortified by the Accession and Alliance of those Powers I mentioned before, and which, in the former War, had been Parties in our Confederacy. It is
F 2 very

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very obvious what a Change must be made in the Balance, by such Weights taken out of our Scale, and put into theirs; since it was manifest, by ten Years Experience, that *France*, without those Additions of Strength, was able to maintain itself against us. So that human Probability ran, with mighty Odds, on the other Side; and, in this Case, nothing under the most extreme Necessity should force any State to engage in a War. We had already acknowledged *Philip* for King of *Spain*; neither does the QUEEN's Declaration of War take Notice of the Duke of *Anjou's* Succession to that Monarchy as a Subject of Quarrel; but the *French* King's governing it as if it were his own; his seizing *Cadix*, *Milan*, and the *Spanish* Low-Countries, with the Indignity of proclaiming the Pretender. In all which we charge that Prince with nothing directly relating to us, excepting the last: And this, although indeed a great Affront, might easily have been redressed without a War; for the *French* Court declared they did not acknowledge the Pretender, but only gave him the Title of King; which was allowed to *Augustus* by his Enemy of *Sweden*, who had driven him out of *Poland*, and forced him to acknowledge *Stanislaus*.

It is true, indeed, the Danger of the *Dutch*, by so ill a Neighbourhood in *Flanders*, might affect us very much in the Consequences of it; and the Loss of *Spain* to the House of *Austria*, if it should be governed by *French* Influence, and *French* Politicks, might, in Time, be very pernicious to our Trade. It would therefore have been prudent, as well as generous and charitable, to help our Neighbour; and so we might have done without injuring ourselves; for, by an old Treaty with *Holland*, we were bound

bound to assist that Republick with Ten thousand Men, whenever they were attacked by the *French*; whose Troops, upon the King of *Spain's* Death, taking Possession of *Flanders*, in Right of *Philip*, and securing the *Dutch* Garisons till they would acknowledge him, the *States-General*, by Memorials from their Envoy here, demanded only the Ten thousand Men we were obliged to give them by Virtue of that Treaty. And I make no doubt but *Holland* would have exerted themselves so vigorously, as to be able, with that Assistance alone, to defend their Frontiers; or, if they had been forced to a Peace, the *Spaniards*, who abhor dismembering their Monarchy, would never have suffered the *French* to possess themselves of *Flanders*. At that Time they had none of those Endearments to each other, which this War hath created; and whatever Hatred and Jealousy were natural between the two Nations, would then have appeared. So that there was no sort of Necessity for us to proceed further, although we had been in a better Condition. But our Politicians at that Time had other Views; and a new War must be undertaken upon the Advice of those, who, with their Partisans and Adherents, were to be the sole Gainers by it. A Grand Alliance was therefore made between the *Emperor*, *England*, and the *States-General*; by which, if the Injuries complained of from *France* were not remedied in two Months, the Parties concerned were obliged mutually to assist each other *with their whole Strength*.

Thus we became Parties in a War, in Conjunction with two Allies, whose Share in the Quarrel was, beyond all Proportion, greater than ours. However, I can see no Reason, from the Words of the Grand Alliance, by which we were obliged to

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make those prodigious Expences we have since been at. By what I have always heard and read, I take the *whole Strength of a Nation*, as understood in that Treaty, to be the utmost that a Prince can raise annually from his Subjects. If he be forced to mortgage and borrow, whether at home or abroad, it is not, properly speaking, *his own Strength*, or that of the Nation, but the entire Substance of particular Persons, which, not being able to raise out of the annual Income of his Kingdom, he takes upon Security, and can only pay the Interest. And, by this Method, one Part of the Nation is pawned to the other, with hardly a Possibility left of being ever redeemed.

SURELY it would have been enough for us to have suspended the Payment of our Debts contracted in the former War; and to have continued our Land and Malt Tax, with those others which have since been mortgaged: These, with some Additions, would have made up such a Sum, as, with prudent Management, might, I suppose, have maintained an hundred thousand Men by Sea and Land; a reasonable *Quota* in all Conscience for that Ally, who apprehended least Danger, and expected least Advantage. Nor can we imagine, that either of the Confederates, when the War began, would have been so unreasonable, as to refuse joining with us upon such a Foot, and expect that we should every Year go between three and four Millions in Debt (which hath been our Case) because the *French* could hardly have contrived any Offers of a Peace so ruinous to us as such a War. Posterity will be at a Loss to conceive what kind of Spirit could possess their Ancestors, who, after ten Years Suffering, by the unexampled Politicks of a Nation, maintaining a War
by

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by annually pawning itself; and, during a short Peace, while they were looking back with Horror on the heavy Loads of Debts they had contracted; universally condemning those pernicious Counsels which had occasioned them; racking their Invention for some Remedies or Expedients to mend their shattered Condition; I say, that these very People, without giving themselves Time to breath, should again enter into a more dangerous, chargeable, and extensive War, for the same, or perhaps a greater Period of Time, and without any apparent Necessity. It is obvious, in a private Fortune, that whoever annually runs out, and continues the same Expences, must every Year mortgage a greater Quantity of Land than he did before; and, as the Debt doubles and trebles upon him, so doth his Inability to pay it. By the same Proportion we have suffered twice as much by this last ten Years War, as we did by the former; and, if it were possible to continue it five Years longer at the same Rate, it would be as great a Burthen as the whole Twenty. This Computation being so easy and trivial, as it is almost a Shame to mention it, Posterity will think, that those who first advised the War wanted either the Sense, or the Honesty to consider it.

AND as we have wasted our Strength and vital Substance in this profuse Manner, so we have shamefully misapplied it to Ends at least very different from those for which we undertook the War, and often to effect others which, after a Peace, we may severely repent. This is the second Article I proposed to examine.

WE have now, for ten Years together, turned the whole Force and Expence of the War, where the

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Enemy was best able to hold us at a Bay ; where we could propose no Manner of Advantage to ourselves ; where it was highly impolitick to enlarge our Conquests ; utterly neglecting that Part which would have saved and gained us many Millions ; which the perpetual Maxims of our Government teach us to pursue ; which would have soonest weakened the Enemy, and must either have promoted a speedy Peace, or enabled us to continue the War.

THOSE who are fond of continuing the War cry up our constant Success at a most prodigious Rate, and reckon it infinitely greater than, in all human Probability, we had Reason to hope. Ten glorious Campaigns are passed, and now, at last, like the sick Man, we are just expiring with all Sorts of good Symptoms. Did the Advisers of this War suppose it would continue ten Years, without expecting the Success we have had ; and yet at the same Time determine, that *France* must be reduced, and *Spain* subdued, by employing our whole Strength upon *Flanders* ? Did they believe the last War left us in a Condition to furnish such vast Supplies for so long a Period, without involving us, and our Posterity, in unextricable Debts ? If, after such miraculous *Doings*, we are not yet in a Condition of bringing *France* to our Terms, nor can tell when we shall be so, altho' we should proceed without any Reverse of Fortune ; what could we look for, in the ordinary Course of Things, but a *Flanders* War of at least twenty Years longer ? Do they indeed think a Town taken for the *Dutch* is a sufficient Recompence to us for six Millions of Money ? Which is of so little Consequence to determine the War, that the *French* may yet hold out a dozen Years more, and afford a Town every Campaign at the same Price.

I SAY

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I SAY not this, by any means, to detract from the Army, or its Leaders. Getting into the Enemy's Lines, passing Rivers, and taking Towns, may be Actions attended with many glorious Circumstances : But when all this brings no real, solid Advantage to us ; when it hath no other End than to enlarge the Territories of the *Dutch*, and increase the Fame and Wealth of our *General* ; I conclude, however it comes about, that Things are not as they should be ; and that surely our Forces and Money might be better employed, both towards reducing our Enemy, and working out some Benefit to our selves. But the Case is still much harder ; we are destroying many thousand Lives, exhausting our Substance, not for our own Interest, which would be but common Prudence ; not for a Thing indifferent, which would be sufficient Folly ; but perhaps to our own Destruction, which is perfect Madness. We may live to feel the Effects of our own Valour more sensibly than all the Consequences we imagine from the Dominions of *Spain* in the Duke of *Anjou*. We have conquered a noble Territory for the States, that will maintain sufficient Troops to defend itself, and feed many hundred thousand Inhabitants, where all Encouragement will be given to introduce and improve Manufactures, which was the only Advantage they wanted ; and which, added to their Skill, Industry, and Parsimony, will enable them to under-sell us in every Market of the World.

OUR Supply of Forty thousand Men, according to the first Stipulation, added to the Quota's of the *Emperor* and *Holland*, which they were obliged to furnish, would have made an Army of near Two hundred thousand, exclusive of Garrisons. Enough to withstand all the Power that *France* could bring
against

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against it ; and we might have employed the rest much better, both for the common Cause, and our own Advantage.

THE War in *Spain* must be imputed to the Credulity of our Ministers, who suffered themselves to be persuaded by the Imperial Court, that the *Spaniards* were so violently affected to the House of *Austria*, as, upon the first Appearance there, with a few Troops under the Archduke, the whole Kingdom would immediately revolt. This we tried ; and found the *Emperor* to have deceived either us or himself. Yet there we drove on the War at a prodigious Disadvantage, with great Expence ; and, by a most corrupt Management, the only * General, who, by a Course of Conduct and Fortune, almost miraculous, had nearly put us into Possession of that Kingdom, was left wholly unsupported, exposed to the Envy of his Rivals, disappointed by the Caprices of a young unexperienced Prince, under the Guidance of a rapacious *German* Ministry, and, at last, called home in Discontent. By which our Armies, both in *Spain* and *Portugal*, were made a Sacrifice to Avarice, ill Conduct, or Treachery.

IN common Prudence we should either have pushed that War with the utmost Vigour, in so fortunate a Juncture, especially since the gaining that Kingdom was the great Point for which we pretended to continue the War ; or, at least, when we had found, or made that Design impracticable, we should not have gone on in so expensive a Management of it ; but have kept our Troops on the defensive in *Catalonia*, and pursued some other Way, more effectual

* The Earl of *Peterborough*.

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for distressing the Common Enemy, and advantaging ourselves.

AND what a noble Field of Honour and Profit had we before us, where to employ the best of our Strength, which, against all Maxims of *British* Policy, we suffered to lie wholly neglected! I have sometimes wondered how it came to pass, that the Style of *Maritime Powers*, by which our Allies, in a sort of contemptuous Manner, usually couple us with the *Dutch*, did never put us in Mind of the Sea; and, while some Politicians were shewing us the Way to *Spain* by *Flanders*, others by *Savoy* or *Naples*, that the *West-Indies* should never come into their Heads. With half the Charge we have been at, we might have maintained our original *Quota* of Forty thousand Men in *Flanders*, and, at the same Time, by our Fleets and naval Forces, have so distressed the *Spaniards* in the North and South Seas of *America*, as to prevent any Returns of Money from thence, except in our own Bottoms. This is what best became us to do, as a *Maritime Power*; this, with any common Degree of Success, would soon have compelled *France* to the Necessities of a Peace, and *Spain* to acknowledge the Archduke. But while we, for ten Years, have been squandering away our Money upon the Continent, *France* hath been wisely engrossing all the Trade of *Peru*, going directly with their Ships to *Lima*, and other Ports, and there receiving Ingots of Gold and Silver for *French* Goods of little Value; which, besides the mighty Advantage to their Nation at present, may divert the Channel of that Trade for the future, so beneficial to us, who used to receive annually such vast Sums at *Cadix*, for our Goods sent thence to the *Spanish West-Indies*. All this we tamely saw and suffered,

suffered, without the least Attempt to hinder it; except what was performed by some private Men at *Bristol*, who, inflamed by a true Spirit of Courage and Industry, did, about three Years ago, with a few Vessels, fitted out at their own Charge, make a most successful Voyage into those Parts; took one of the *Aquapulco* Ships, very narrowly missed of the other, and are lately returned laden with unenvied Wealth; to shew us what might have been done with the like Management by a publick Undertaking. At least we might easily have prevented those great Returns of Money to *France* and *Spain*, altho' we could not have taken it ourselves. And if it be true, as the Advocates for War would have it, that the *French* are now so impoverished, in what Condition must they have been, if that Issue of Wealth had been stopped?

BUT great Events often turn upon very small Circumstances. It was the Kingdom's Misfortune that the Sea was not the Duke of *Marlborough's* Element; otherwise the whole Force of the War would infallibly have been bestowed there, infinitely to the Advantage of his Country, which would then have gone hand in hand with his own. But it is very truly objected, that, if we alone had made such an Attempt as this, *Holland* would have been jealous; or, if we had done it in Conjunction with *Holland*, the House of *Austria* would have been discontented. This hath been the Style of late Years; which whoever introduced among us, they have taught our Allies to speak after them. Otherwise it could hardly enter into any Imagination, that, while we are Confederates in a War with those who are to have the whole Profit, and who leave a double Share of the Burthen upon us, we dare not think of any Design, although

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although against the common Enemy, where there is the least Prospect of doing Good to our own Country; for fear of giving Umbrage and Offence to our Allies; while we are ruining ourselves to conquer Provinces and Kingdoms for them. I therefore confess, with Shame, that this Objection is true: For it is very well known, that while the Design of Mr. Hill's Expedition remained a Secret, it was suspected, in *Holland* and *Germany*, to be intended against *Perru*; whereupon the *Dutch* made every where their publick Complaints; and the Ministers at *Vienna* talked of it, as an *Insolence in the QUEEN* to attempt such an Undertaking; which, although it has failed, partly by the Accidents of a Storm, and partly by the Stubbornness or Treachery of some in that Colony, for whose Relief, and at whose Entreaty, it was, in some measure, designed, is no Objection at all to an Enterprize so well concerted, and with such fair Probability of Success.

It was something singular that the *States* should express their Uneasiness when they thought we intended to make some Attempt in the *Spanish West-Indies*; because it is agreed between us, that whatever is conquered there by us or them shall belong to the Conqueror; which is the only Article that I can call to Mind, in all our Treaties or Stipulations, with any View of Interest to this Kingdom; and for that very Reason, I suppose, among others, hath been altogether neglected. Let those, who think this too severe a Reflection, examine the whole Management of the present War, by Sea and Land, with all our Alliances, Treaties, Stipulations, and Conventions, and consider, whether the whole doth not look as if some particular Care and Industry had been

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been used to prevent any Benefit or Advantage that might possibly accrue to *Britain*?

THIS kind of Treatment from our two principal Allies hath taught the same Dialect to all the rest; so that there is not a petty Prince, whom we half maintain by Subsidies and Pensions, who is not ready, upon every Occasion, to threaten us, that he will recal his Troops (although they must rob or starve at home) if we refuse to comply with him in any Demand, however unreasonable.

UPON the third Head, I shall produce some Instances, to shew how tamely we have suffered each of our Allies to infringe every Article in those Treaties and Stipulations by which they were bound; and to lay the Load upon us.

BUT, before I enter upon this, which is a large Subject, I shall take Leave to offer a few Remarks on certain Articles in three of our Treaties; which may let us perceive, how much those Ministers valued, or understood the true Interest, Safety, or Honour of their Country.

WE have made two Alliances with *Portugal*, an Offensive and Defensive: The first is to remain in Force only during the present War; the second to be perpetual. In the Offensive Alliance, the *Emperor*, *England*, and *Holland* are Parties with *Portugal*; in the Defensive only we and the *States*.

UPON the first Article of the Offensive Alliance it is to be observed, that although the Grand Alliance, as I have already said, allows *England* and *Holland* to possess for their own whatever each of them shall conquer in the *Spanish West-Indies*; yet there we are quite cut out, by consenting, that the Archduke shall possess the Dominions of *Spain* in as full a man-

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ner as their late King *Charles*. And, what is more remarkable, we broke this very Article, in Favour of *Portugal*, by subsequent Stipulations; where we agree, that King *Charles* shall deliver up *Estramadura*, *Vigo*, and some other Places, to the *Portuguese*, as soon as we can conquer them from the Enemy. They who are guilty of so much Folly and Contradiction, know best whether it proceeded from Corruption or Stupidity.

By two other Articles (besides the Honour of being Convoys and Guards in ordinary to the *Portuguese* Ships and Coasts) we are to guess the Enemy's Thoughts, and to take the King of *Portugal's* Word, whenever he hath a Fancy, that he shall be invaded. We are also to furnish him with a Strength superior to what the Enemy intends to invade any of his Dominions with, let that be what it will. And, until we know what the Enemy's Forces are, his *Portuguese* Majesty is sole Judge what Strength is superior, and what will be able to prevent an Invasion; and may send our Fleets, whenever he pleases, upon his Errands, to some of the further Parts of the World, or keep them attending, upon his own Coasts, till he think fit to dismiss them. These Fleets must likewise be subject, in all Things, not only to the King, but to his Viceroys, Admirals, and Governors, in any of his foreign Dominions, when he is in an Humour to apprehend an Invasion; which, I believe, is an Indignity that was never offered before, except to a conquered Nation.

IN the Defensive Alliance with that Crown, which is to remain perpetual, and where only *England* and *Holland* are Parties with them, the same Care, in almost the same Words, is taken for our Fleet to attend their Coasts and foreign Dominions,
and

and to be under the same Obedience. We and the *States* are likewise to furnish them with twelve thousand Men at our own Charge, which we are constantly to recruit; and these are to be subject to the *Portuguese* Generals.

IN the Offensive Alliance we took no Care of having the Assistance of *Portugal*, whenever we should be invaded. But in this, it seems, we are wiser; for that King is obliged to make War on *France* or *Spain*, whenever we or *Holland* are invaded by either; but, before this, we are to supply them with the same Forces, both by Sea and Land, as if he were invaded himself. And this must needs be a very prudent and safe Course for a *Maritime Power* to take upon a sudden Invasion; by which, instead of making use of our Fleets and Armies for our own Defence, we must send them abroad for the Defence of *Portugal*.

By the thirteenth Article we are told, what this Assistance is, which the *Portuguese* are to give us, and upon what Conditions. They are to furnish ten Men of War; and when *England* and *Holland* shall be invaded by *France* and *Spain* together, or by *Spain* alone, in either of these Cases those ten *Portuguese* Men of War are to serve only upon their own Coasts, where, no doubt, they will be of mighty Use to their Allies, and Terror to the Enemy.

How the *Dutch* were drawn to have a Part in either of these two Alliances, is not very material to enquire, since they have been so wise as never to observe them; and I suppose, never intended it; but resolved, as they have since done, to shift the Load upon us.

LET any Man read these two Treaties from the Beginning to the End, he will imagine, that the
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King of *Portugal* and his Ministers sat down and made them by themselves, and then sent them to their Allies to sign; the whole Spirit and Tenor of them, quite through, running only upon this single Point, What we and *Holland* are to do for *Portugal*, without any mention of an Equivalent, except those ten Ships, which, at the Time when we have greatest Need of their Assistance, are obliged to attend upon their own Coasts.

THE Barrier-Treaty, between *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, was concluded at the *Hague*, on the 29th of *October*, in the Year 1709. In this Treaty neither Her Majesty nor Her Kingdoms have any Interest or Concern, farther than what is mentioned in the second and the twentieth Articles: By the former, the *States* are to assist the QUEEN in defending the Act of Succession; and, by the other, not to treat of a Peace, till *France* hath acknowledged the QUEEN, and the Succession of *Hanover*, and promised to remove the *Pretender* out of that King's Dominions.

As to the first of these, it is certainly for the Safety and Interest of the *States-General*, that the Protestant Succession should be preserved in *England*; because such a *Popish* Prince, as we apprehended, would infallibly join with *France*, in the Ruin of that Republick. And the *Dutch* are as much bound to support our Succession, as they are tied to any Part of a Treaty or League, offensive and defensive, against a common Enemy, without any separate Benefit upon that Consideration. Her Majesty is in the full, peaceable Possession of her Kingdoms, and of the Hearts of her People; among whom, hardly one in five thousand are in the *Pretender's* Interest. And, whether the Assistance of the *Dutch*, to preserve a Right so well established, be an Equivalent to those

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many unreasonable, exorbitant Articles in the rest of the Treaty, let the World judge. What an Impression of our Settlement must it give abroad, to see our Ministers offering such Conditions to the *Dutch*, to prevail on them to be Guarantees of our Acts of Parliament! Neither, perhaps, is it right, in Point of Policy or good Sense, that a foreign Power should be called in to confirm our Succession by way of Guarantee, but only to acknowledge it. Otherwise we put it out of the Power of our own Legislature to change our Succession, without the Consent of that Prince or State who is Guarantee, how much soever the Necessities of the Kingdom may require it.

As to the other Article, it is a natural Consequence that must attend any Treaty of Peace we can make with *France*; being only the Acknowledgment of Her Majesty as *QUEEN* of her own Dominions, and the Right of Succession by our own Laws, which no foreign Power hath any Pretence to dispute.

HOWEVER, in order to deserve these mighty Advantages from the *States*, the rest of the Treaty is wholly taken up in directing what we are to do for them.

By the grand Alliance, which was the Foundation of the present War, the *Spanish Low-Countries* were to be recovered, and delivered to the King of *Spain*; but by this Treaty, that Prince is to possess nothing in *Flanders* during the War; and, after a Peace, the *States* are to have the Military Command of about twenty Towns, with their Dependencies, and four hundred thousand Crowns a Year from the King of *Spain*, to maintain their Garisons. By which Means they will have the Command of all *Flanders*, from *Newport* on the Sea to *Namur* on the *Maese*,
and

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and be entirely Masters of the *Pais de Waas*, the richest Part of those Provinces. Further, they have Liberty to garison any Place they shall think fit in the *Spanish Low-Countries*, whenever there is an Appearance of War; and consequently to put Garisons into *Ostend*, or where else they please, upon a Rupture with *England*.

By this Treaty likewise the *Dutch* will, in effect, be entire Masters of all the *Low-Countries*; may impose Duties, Restrictions in Commerce, and Prohibitions at their Pleasure; and, in that fertile Country, may set up all sorts of Manufactures, particularly the Woolen, by inviting the disobliged Manufacturers in *Ireland*, and the *French* Refugees, who are scattered all over *Germany*. And, as this Manufacture increaseth abroad, the clothing People of *England* will be necessitated, for want of Employment, to follow; and, in a few Years, by help of the low Interest of Money in *Holland*, *Flanders* may recover that beneficial Trade which we got from them. The Landed Men of *England* will then be forced to re-establish the Staples of Wool abroad; and the *Dutch*, instead of being only the Carriers, will become the original Possessors of those Commodities, with which the greatest Part of the Trade of the World is now carried on. And, as they increase their Trade, it is obvious, they will enlarge their Strength at Sea, and that ours must lessen in proportion.

ALL the Ports in *Flanders* are to be subject to the like Duties that the *Dutch* shall lay upon the *Scheld*, which is to be closed on the Side of the *States*: Thus all other Nations are, in effect, shut out from trading with *Flanders*. Yet, in the very same Article, it is said, that the *States* shall be favoured in all the *Spanish Dominions* as much as *Great-Britain*, or as

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the People most favoured. We have conquered *Flanders* for them, and are in a worse Condition, as to our Trade there, than before the War began. We have been the great Support of the King of *Spain*, to whom the *Dutch* have hardly contributed any thing at all ; and yet *they are to be equally favoured with us in all his Dominions.* Of all this the QUEEN is under the unreasonable Obligation of being Guarantee, and that they shall possess their Barrier, and their four hundred thousand Crowns a Year, even before a Peace.

It is to be observed, that this Treaty was only signed by one of our Plenipotentiaries ; and I have been told, that the other was heard to say, he would rather lose his Right-hand, than set it to such a Treaty. Had he spoke those Words in due Season, and loud enough to be heard on this Side the Water, considering the Credit he had then at Court, he might have saved much of his Country's Honour, and got as much to himself ; therefore, if the Report be true, I am inclined to think, he only SAID it. I have been likewise told, that some very necessary Circumstances were wanting in the Entrance upon this Treaty ; but the Ministers here rather chose to sacrifice the Honour of the Crown, and the Safety of their Country, than not ratify what one of their Favourites had transacted.

LET me now consider in what manner our Allies have observed those Treaties they have made with us, and the several Stipulations and Agreements pursuant to them.

By the grand Alliance between the *Empire, England, and Holland*, we were to assist the other two, *totis viribus*, by Sea and Land. By a Convention subsequent to this Treaty, the Proportions which the
several

Several Parties should contribute towards the War, were adjusted in the following manner: The *Emperor* was obliged to furnish ninety thousand Men against *France*, either in *Italy*, or upon the *Rhine*; *Holland* to bring sixty thousand into the Field in *Flanders*, exclusive of Garisons; and we forty thousand. In Winter 1702, which was the next Year, the Duke of *Marlborough* proposed the raising of ten thousand Men more, by way of Augmentation, and to carry on the War with greater Vigour; to which the Parliament agreed, and the *Dutch* were to raise the same Number. This was upon a *Par*, directly contrary to the former Stipulation, whereby our Part was to be a third less than theirs; and therefore it was granted with a Condition that *Holland* should break off all Trade and Commerce with *France*. But this Condition was never executed, the *Dutch* only amusing us with a specious Declaration, till our Session of Parliament was ended; and, the following Year, it was taken off, by concert between our *General* and the *States*, without any Reason assigned, for the Satisfaction of the Kingdom. The next, and some ensuing Campaigns, further additional Forces were allowed by Parliament for the War in *Flanders*; and, in every new Supply, the *Dutch* gradually lessened their Proportions, although the Parliament addressed the *QUEEN*, that the *States* might be desired to observe them according to Agreement; which had no other Effect than to teach them to elude it, by making their Troops nominal Corps, as they did by keeping up the Number of Regiments, but sinking a fifth Part of the Men and Money; so that now Things are just inverted. And, in all new Levies, we contributed a third more than the *Dutch*,
G 3 who,

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who, at first, were obliged to the same Proportion more than us.

BESIDES, the more Towns we conquer for the *States*, the worse Condition we are in towards reducing the common Enemy, and consequently of putting an End to the War. For they make no Scruple of employing the Troops of their *Quota* towards garisoning every Town as fast as it is taken; directly contrary to the Agreement between us, by which all Garisons are particularly excluded. This is at length arrived by several Steps to such a Height, that there are at present in the Field, not so many Forces under the Duke of *Marlborough's* Command in *Flanders*, as *Britain* alone maintains for that Service, nor have been for some Years past.

THE Duke of *Marlborough* having entered the Enemies Lines, and taken *Bouchain*, formed the Design of keeping as great a Number of Troops, and particularly of Cavalry, in *Lisle*, *Tournay*, *Dorway*, and the Country between, as should be able to harass all the neighbouring Provinces of *France* during the Winter, prevent the Enemy from erecting their Magazines, and by consequence from subsisting their Forces next Spring, and render it impossible for them to assemble their Army another Year, without going back behind the *Soame* to do it. In order to effect this Project, it was necessary to be at an Expence extraordinary of Forage for the Troops, for building Stables, finding Fire and Candle for the Soldiers, with other incident Charges. The QUEEN readily agreed to furnish her Share of the first Article, that of the Forage, which only belonged to her. But the *States* insisting that Her Majesty should likewise come into a Proportion of the other Articles, which, in Justice, belonged totally to them; she agreed
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even to that, rather than a Design of this Importance should fail. And yet we know it hath failed, and that the *Dutch* refused their Consent, till the Time was past for putting it in Execution, even in the Opinion of those who proposed it. Perhaps a certain Article in the Treaties of Contributions, submitted to by such of the *French* Dominions as pay them to the *States*, was the principal Cause of defeating this Project; since one great Advantage to have been gained by it, was, as is before mentioned, to have hindered the Enemy from erecting their Magazines; and one Article in those Treaties of Contributions is, that the Product of those Countries shall pass free and unmolested. So that the Question was reduced to this short Issue: Whether the *Dutch* should lose this paltry Benefit, or the common Cause an Advantage of such mighty Importance.

THE Sea being the Element where we might most probably carry on the War with any Advantage to ourselves, it was agreed that we should bear five Eighths of the Charge in that Service, and the *Dutch* the other three; and, by the Grand Alliance, whatever we, or *Holland*, should conquer in the *Spanish-West-Indies*, was to accrue to the Conquerors. It might therefore have been hoped, that this *Maritime Ally* of ours would have made up in their Fleet, what they fell short in their Army; but quite otherwise, they never once furnished their *Quota* either of Ships or Men; or, if some few of their Fleet now and then appeared, it was no more than appearing; for they immediately separated, to look to their Merchants, and protect their Trade. And we may remember very well, when these Guarantees of our Succession, after having not one Ship for many Months together in the *Mediterranean*, sent that Part of their

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Quota thither, and furnished nothing to us, at the same time that they alarmed us with the Rumour of an Invasion. And, last Year, when Sir *James Wisbart* was dispatched into *Holland*, to expostulate with the *States*, and to desire they would make good their Agreements in so important a Part of the Service; he met with such a Reception as ill became a Republick to give, that were under so many great Obligations to us; in short, such an one as those only deserve, who are content to take it.

It hath likewise been no small Inconvenience to us, that the *Dutch* are always slow in paying their Subsidies, by which Means the Weight and Pressure of the Payment lies upon the QUEEN, as well as the Blame, if her Majesty be not very exact. Nor will even this always content our Allies: For in *July 1711* the King of *Spain* was paid all his Subsidies to the first of *January* next; nevertheless he hath since complained for want of Money; and his Secretary threatened, that if we would not further supply his Majesty, he could not answer for what might happen; although King *Charles* had not at that Time one Third of the Troops for which he was paid; and even those he had, were neither paid nor cloathed.

I CANNOT forbear mentioning here another Passage concerning Subsidies; to shew what Opinion Foreigners have of our Easiness, and how much they reckon themselves Masters of our Money whenever they think fit to call for it. The QUEEN was, by Agreement, to pay two hundred thousand Crowns a Year to the *Prussian* Troops; the *States* one hundred thousand; and the *Emperor* only thirty thousand, for recruiting; which his *Imperial* Majesty never paid. Prince *Eugene* happening to pass by
Berlin,

Berlin, the Ministers of that Court applied to him for Redress in this particular ; and his Highness very frankly promised them, that, in Consideration of this Deficiency, *Britain* and the *States* should increase their Subsidies to seventy thousand Crowns more between them ; and that the *Emperor* should be punctual for the Time to come. This was done by that Prince, without any Orders or Power whatsoever. The *Dutch* very reasonably refused consenting to it ; but the *Prussian* Minister here, making his Applications at our Court, prevailed on us to agree to our Proportion, before we could hear what Resolution would be taken in *Holland*. It is therefore to be hoped, that his *Prussian* Majesty, at the End of this War, will not have the same Cause of Complaint, which he had at the Close of the last ; that his Military Chest was emptier by twenty thousand Crowns than at the Time that War began.

THE *Emperor*, as we have already said, was, by Stipulation, to furnish ninety thousand Men against the common Enemy, as having no Fleets to maintain, and, in Right of his Family, being most concerned in the Success of the War. However, this Agreement hath been so ill observed, that, from the Beginning of the War to this Day, neither of the two last *Emperors* had ever twenty thousand Men, on their own Account, in the common Cause, excepting once in *Italy*, when the *Imperial* Court exerted itself in a Point they have much more at heart than that of gaining *Spain* or the *Indies* to their Family. When they had succeeded in their Attempts on the Side of *Italy*, and observed our blind Zeal for pushing on the War at all Adventures, they soon found out the most effectual Expedient to excuse themselves. They computed easily, that it would cost them less
to

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to make large Presents to one single Person, than to pay an Army, and turn to as good Account. They thought they could not put their Affairs into better Hands; and therefore wisely left us to fight their Battles.

BESIDES, it appeared, by several Instances, how little the *Emperor* valued his Allies, or the Cause they were engaged in, when once he thought the *Empire* itself was secure. It is known enough, that he might several Times have made a Peace with his discontented Subjects in *Hungary*, upon Terms not at all unbecoming either his Dignity or Interest; but he rather chose to sacrifice the whole Alliance to his private Passion, by entirely subduing and enslaving a miserable People, who had but too much Provocation to take up Arms to free themselves from the Oppressions under which they were groaning; yet this must serve as an Excuse for breaking his Agreement, and diverting so great a Body of Troops, which might have been employed against *France*.

ANOTHER Instance of the *Emperor's* Indifference, or rather Dislike, to the common Cause of the Allies, is the Business of *Toulon*. This Design was indeed discovered here at home, by a Person whom every body knows to be the Creature of a certain *Great Man*, at least as much noted for his Skill in Gaming, as in Politicks, upon the base, mercenary End of getting Money by Wagers; which was then so common a Practice, that I remember a Gentleman in Business, who, having the Curiosity to enquire how Wagers went upon the *Exchange*, found some People, deep in the Secret, to have been concerned in that kind of Traffick; as appeared by Premiums named for Towns, which no body but those behind the Curtain could suspect. However, although this
Project

Project had gotten Wind by so scandalous a Proceeding; yet *Toulon* might probably have been taken, if the *Emperor* had not thought fit, in that very Juncture, to detach twelve or fifteen thousand Men to seize *Naples*, as an Enterprize that was more his private and immediate Interest. But it was manifest, that his *Imperial* Majesty had no Mind to see *Toulon* in Possession or the Allies; for, even with these Discouragements, the Attempt might yet have succeeded, if Prince *Eugene* had not thought fit to oppose it; which cannot be imputed to his own Judgment, but to some Politick Reasons of his Court. The Duke of *Savoy* was for attacking the Enemy as soon as our Army arrived; but when the *Marschal de Thesse's* Troops were all come up, to pretend to besiege the Place, in the Condition we were at that Time, was a Farce and a Jest. Had *Toulon* fallen then into our Hands, the maritime Power of *France* would, in a great measure, have been destroyed.

BUT a much greater Instance than either of the foregoing, how little the *Emperor* regarded us or our Quarrel, after all we had done to save his *Imperial* Crown, and to assert the Title of his Brother to the Monarchy of *Spain*, may be brought from the Proceedings of that Court not many Months ago. It was judged, that a War, carried upon the Side of *Italy*, would cause a great Diversion of the *French* Forces, wound them in a very tender Part, and facilitate the Progress of our Arms in *Spain*, as well as *Flanders*. It was proposed to the Duke of *Savoy* to make this Diversion; and not only a Diversion during the Summer, but the Winter too, by taking Quarters on this Side of the Hills. Only, in order to make him willing and able to perform this Work, two Points were to be settled: It was necessary to
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end the Dispute between the *Imperial* Court and his Royal Highness, which had no other Foundation than the *Emperor's* refusing to make good some Articles of that Treaty, on the Faith of which the Duke engaged in the present War, and for the Execution whereof *Britain* and *Holland* became Guarantees, at the Request of the late Emperor *Leopold*. To remove this Difficulty the Earl of *Peterborough* was dispatched to *Vienna*, got over some Part of those Disputes to the Satisfaction of the Duke of *Savoy*, and had put the rest in a fair Way of being accommodated, at the Time the Emperor *Joseph* died. Upon which great Event the Duke of *Savoy* took the Resolution of putting himself at the Head of the Army, although the whole Matter were not finished, since the common Cause required his Assistance; and that, until a new Emperor was elected, it was impossible to make good the Treaty to him. In order to enable him, the only thing he asked was, that he should be reinforced by the Imperial Court with eight thousand Men before the End of the Campaign. Mr. *Whitworth* was sent to *Vienna* to make this Proposal; and it is credibly reported, that he was impowered, rather than fail, to offer forty thousand Pounds for the March of those eight thousand Men; if he found it was want of Ability, and not Inclination, that hindered the sending them. But he was so far from succeeding, that, it was said, the Ministers of that Court did not so much as give him an Opportunity to tempt them with any particular Sums; but cut off all his Hopes at once, by alledging the Impossibility of complying with the *QUEEN'S* Demands upon any Consideration whatsoever. They could not plead their old Excuse of the War in *Hungary*, which was then brought

brought to an End. They had nothing to offer but some general, speculative Reasons, which it would expose them to repeat; and so, after much Delay, and many trifling Pretences, they utterly refused so small and seasonable an Assistance; to the Ruin of a Project that would have more terrified *France*, and caused a greater Diversion of their Forces, than a much more numerous Army in any other Part. Thus, for want of eight thousand Men, for whose Winter-Campaign the QUEEN was willing to give forty thousand Pounds; and, for want of executing the Design I lately mentioned, of hindering the Enemy from erecting Magazines, towards which Her Majesty was ready not only to bear Her own Proportion, but a Share of that which the *States* were obliged to; our Hopes of taking Winter-Quarters in the North and South Parts of *France* are eluded, and the War left in that Method, which is like to continue it longest. Can there an Example be given, in the whole Course of this War, where we have treated the pettiest Prince, with whom we had to deal, in so contemptuous a Manner? Did we ever once consider what we could afford, or what we were obliged to, when our Assistance was desired, even while we lay under immediate Apprehensions of being invaded?

WHEN *Portugal* came, as a Confederate into the Grand Alliance, it was stipulated, that the Empire, *England*, and *Holland*, should each maintain four thousand Men, of their own Troops, in that Kingdom, and pay between them a Million of Pattacoons to the King of *Portugal*, for the Support of twenty eight thousand *Portuguese*; which number of forty thousand was to be the Confederate Army against *Spain* on the *Portugal* Side. This Treaty was ratified by all the three Powers. But, in a short Time after,

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after, the *Emperor* declared himself unable to comply with his part of the Agreement, and so left the two Thirds upon us; who very generously undertook that Burthen, and, at the same time, two Thirds of the Subsidies for Maintenance of the *Portuguese* Troops. But neither is this the worst Part of the Story; for, although the *Dutch* did indeed send their own *Quota* of four thousand Men to *Portugal* (which, however, they would not agree to, but upon Condition, that the other two Thirds should be supplied by us;) yet they never took care to recruit them; for, in the Year 1706, the *Portuguese*, *British*, and *Dutch* Forces, having marched with the Earl of *Galway* into *Castile*, and, by the noble Conduct of that General, being forced to retire into *Valencia*, it was found necessary to raise a new Army on the *Portugal* Side; where the *QUEEN* hath, at several times, encreased her Establishment to ten thousand five hundred Men; and the *Dutch* never re-placed one single Man, nor paid one Penny of their Subsidies to *Portugal* in six Years.

THE *Spanish* Army, on the Side of *Catalonia*, is, or ought to be, about fifty thousand Men, exclusive of *Portugal*. And here the War hath been carried on almost entirely at our Cost. For this whole Army is paid by the *QUEEN*, excepting only seven Battalions and fourteen Squadrons of *Dutch* and *Palatines*; and even fifteen hundred of these are likewise in our Pay; besides the Sums given to King *Charles* for Subsidies, and the Maintenance of his Court. Neither are our Troops at *Gibraltar* included within this Number. And further, we alone have been at all the Charge of transporting the Forces first sent from *Genoa* to *Barcelona*; and of all the *Imperial* Recruits from time to time. And have like-

likewise paid vast Sums as Levy-Money, for every individual Man and Horse so furnished to recruit ; although the Horses were scarce worth the Price of Transportation. But this hath been almost the constant Misfortune of our Fleet, during the present War ; instead of being employed on some Enterprize for the Good of the Nation, or even for the Protection of our Trade, to be wholly taken up in transporting Soldiers.

WE have actually conquered all *Bavaria, Ulm, Augsburg, Landau*, and a great Part of *Alsace*, for the *Emperor*: And by the Troops we have furnished, the Armies we have paid, and the Diversions we have given to the Enemies Forces, have chiefly contributed to the Conquests of *Milan, Mantua, and Mirandola*, and to the Recovery of the Duchy of *Modena*. The last *Emperor* drained the Wealth of those Countries into his own Coffers, without increasing his Troops against *France*, by such mighty Acquisitions, or yielding to the most reasonable Requests we have made.

OF the many Towns we have taken for the *Dutch*, we have consented, by the Barrier-Treaty, that all those which were not in the Possession of *Spain*, upon the Death of the late Catholick King, shall be part of the *States* Dominions ; and that they shall have the military Power in the most considerable of the rest ; which is, in effect, to be the absolute Sovereigns of the whole. And the *Hollanders* have already made such good Use of their Time, that, in Conjunction with our General, the Oppressions of *Flanders* are much greater than ever.

AND this Treatment which we have received from our two principal Allies, hath been pretty well copied by most other Princes in the Confederacy,
with

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with whom we have any Dealings. For Instance : Seven *Portuguese* Regiments after the Battle of *Almanza*, went off, with the rest of that broken Army, to *Catalonia* ; the King of *Portugal* said, he was not able to pay them while they were out of his Country ; the QUEEN consented therefore to do it Herself, provided the King would raise as many more to supply their Place. This he engaged to do, but never performed. Notwithstanding which, his Subsidies were constantly paid him by my Lord *Godolphin*, for almost four Years, without any Deduction, upon Account of those seven Regiments ; directly contrary to the seventh Article of our Offensive Alliance with that Crown, where it is agreed, that a Deduction shall be made out of those Subsidies, in proportion to the number of Men wanting in that Complement which the King is to maintain. But whatever might have been the Reasons for this Proceeding, it seems they are above the Understanding of the * present Lord *Treasurer* ; who, not entering into those Refinements, of paying the publick Money upon *private* Considerations, hath been so uncourtly as to stop it. This Disappointment, I suppose, hath put the Court of *Lisbon* upon other Expedients, of raising the Price of Forage, so as to force us either to lessen our Number of Troops, or be at double Expende in maintaining them ; and this at a Time when their own Product, as well as the Import of Corn, was never greater ; and of demanding a Duty upon the Soldiers Cloaths we carried over for those Troops, which have been their sole Defence against an inveterate Enemy ; and whose Example might have infused Courage, as well as taught

* Earl of *Oxford*.

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them Discipline, if their Spirits had been capable of receiving either.

IN order to augment our Forces every Year, in the same proportion as those for whom we fight diminish theirs, we have been obliged to hire Troops from several Princes of the Empire, whose Ministers and Residents here have perpetually importuned the Court with unreasonable Demands, under which our late Ministers thought fit to be passive. For those Demands were always backed with a Threat to recal their Soldiers; which was a thing not to be heard of, because it might *discontent the Dutch*. In the mean time those Princes never sent their Contingent to the *Emperor*, as, by the Laws of the Empire, they are obliged to do; but gave for their Excuse, that we had already hired all they could possibly spare.

BUT, if all this be true; if, according to what I have affirmed, we began this War contrary to Reason; if, as the other Party themselves upon all Occasions acknowledge, the Success we have had was more than we could reasonably expect; if, after all our Success, we have not made that use of it, which in Reason we ought to have done; if we have made weak and foolish Bargains with our Allies; suffered them tamely to break every Article, even in those Bargains to our Disadvantage, and allowed them to treat us with Insolence and Contempt, at the very Instant when we were gaining Towns, Provinces, and Kingdoms for them, at the Price of our Ruin, and without any Prospect of Interest to ourselves; if we have consumed all our Strength in attacking the Enemy on the strongest Side, where (as the old Duke of *Schomberg* expressed it) *to engage with France, was to take a Bull by the Horns*; and left wholly unat-

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tempted that Part of the War, which could only enable us to continue, or to end it : If all this, I say, be our Case, it is a very obvious Question to ask, By what Motives, or what Management, we are thus become the *Dupes* and *Bubbles* of *Europe*? Sure it cannot be owing to the Stupidity arising from the Coldness of our Climate ; since those among our Allies, who have given us most Reason to complain, are as far removed from the Sun as ourselves.

IF in laying open the real Causes of our present Misery, I am forced to speak with some Freedom, I think it will require no Apology. Reputation is the smallest Sacrifice those can make us, who have been the Instruments of our Ruin ; because it is that, for which, in all Probability, they have the least Value. So that in exposing the Actions of such Persons, it cannot be said, properly speaking, to do them an Injury. But as it will be some Satisfaction to our People, to know by whom they have been so long abused ; so it may be of great Use to us, and our Posterity, not to trust the Safety of their Country in the Hands of those, who act by such Principles, and from such Motives.

I HAVE already observed, that, when the Counsels of this War were debated in the late King's Time, a certain *Great Man* was then so averse from entering into it, that he rather chose to give up his Employment, and tell the King he could serve him no longer. Upon that Prince's Death, although the Grounds of our Quarrel with *France* had received no manner of Addition, yet this Lord thought fit to alter his Sentiments ; for the Scene was quite changed ; his Lordship, and the Family with whom he was engaged by so complicated an Alliance, were in the highest Credit possible with the QUEEN. The
Treasurer's

Treasurer's Staff was ready for his Lordship; the Duke was to command the Army, and the Duchess, by her Employments, and the Favour she was possessed of, to be always nearest Her Majesty's Person; by which the whole Power, at home and abroad, would be devolved upon that Family. This was a Prospect so very inviting, that, to confess the Truth, it could not be easily withstood by any who have so keen an Appetite for Wealth or Power. By an Agreement subsequent to the Grand Alliance, we were to assist the *Dutch* with forty thousand Men, all to be commanded by the Duke of *Marlborough*. So that whether this War was prudently begun, or not, it is plain, that the true Spring, or Motive of it, was the aggrandizing a particular Family; and, in short, a War of the *General* and the *Ministry*, and not of the *Prince* or *People*; since those very Persons were against it, when they knew the Power, and consequently the Profit, would be in other Hands.

WITH these Measures fell in all that Set of People, who are called the *Monied Men*; such as had raised vast Sums by trading with Stocks and Funds, and lending upon great Interest and Premiums; whose perpetual Harvest is War, and whose beneficial way of Traffick must very much decline by a Peace.

IN that whole Chain of Encroachments made upon us by the *Dutch*, which I have above deduced; and under those several gross Impositions from other Princes, if any one should ask, why our General continued so easy to the last? I know no other Way so probable, or indeed so charitable, to account for it, as by that unmeasurable Love of Wealth, which his best Friends allow to be his predominant Passion. However, I shall wave any thing that is personal

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upon this Subject. I shall say nothing of those great Presents made by several Princes, which the Soldiers used to call *Winter-Foraging*, and said it was better than that of the *Summer*; of two and half *per Cent.* substracted out of all the Subsidies we pay in those Parts, which amounts to no inconsiderable Sum; and, lastly, of the grand Perquisites in a long successful War, which are so amicably adjusted between him and the *States*.

BUT when the War was thus begun, there soon fell in other Incidents here at home, which made the Continuance of it necessary for those who were the chief Advisers. The *Whigs* were, at that time, out of all Credit or Consideration. The reigning Favourites had always carried what was called the *Tory Principles* at least as high as our Constitution could bear; and most others, in great Employments, were wholly in the Church-Interest. These last, among whom several Persons of the greatest Merit, Quality, and Consequence, were not able to endure the many Instances of Pride, Insolence, Avarice, and Ambition, which those Favourites began so early to discover, nor to see them presuming to be sole Dispensers of the Royal Favour. However, their Opposition was to no purpose; they wrestled with too great a Power, and were soon crushed under it. For those in Possession, finding they could never be quiet in their Usurpations, while others had any Credit, who were at least upon an equal Foot of Merit, began to make Overtures to the discarded *Whigs*, who would be content with any Terms of Accommodation. Thus commenced this *solemn League and Covenant*, which hath ever since been cultivated with so much Application. The great Traders in Money were wholly devoted to the *Whigs*, who had first raised them.

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them. The Army, the Court, and the Treasury, continued under the old *Despotick* Administration: The *Whigs* were received into Employment, left to manage the Parliament, cry down the Landed Interest, and worry the Church. Mean time our Allies, who were not ignorant that all this artificial Structure had no true Foundation in the Hearts of the People, resolved to make the best Use of it, as long as it should last. And the General's Credit being raised to a great Height at home by our Success in *Flanders*, the *Dutch* began their gradual Impositions; lessening their *Quotas*, breaking their Stipulations, garisoning the Towns we took for them, without supplying their Troops; with many other Infringements: All which we were forced to submit to, because the General was *made easy*; because the Monied Men at home were fond of the War; because the *Whigs* were not firmly settled; and because that exorbitant Degree of Power, which was built upon a supposed Necessity of employing particular Persons, would go off in a Peace. It is needless to add, that the Emperor, and other Princes, followed the Example of the *Dutch*, and succeeded as well, for the same Reasons.

I HAVE here imputed the Continuance of the War to the mutual Indulgence between our General and Allies, wherein they both so well found their Accounts; to the Fears of the *Money-changers*, lest their *Tables* should be *overthrown*; to the Designs of the *Whigs*, who apprehended the Loss of their Credit and Employments in a Peace; and to those at home, who held their immoderate Engrossments of Power and Favour by no other Tenure, than their own Presumption upon the Necessity of Affairs.

The Truth of this will appear indisputable, by considering with what Unanimity and Concert these several Parties acted towards that great End.

WHEN the Vote passed in the House of Lords, against any Peace, without *Spain* being restored to the *Austrian* Family; the Earl of *Wharton* told the House, that it was indeed impossible and impracticable to recover *Spain*; but, however, there were *certain Reasons* why such a Vote should be made at that Time; which Reasons wanted no Explanation: for the General and the Ministry having refused to accept very advantageous Offers of a Peace, after the Battle of *Ramilies*, were forced to take in a Set of Men, with a previous Bargain, to screen them from the Consequences of that Miscarriage. And accordingly, upon the first succeeding Opportunity that fell, which was the Prince of *Denmark's* Death, the chief Leaders of the Party were brought into several great Employments.

THUS, when the QUEEN was no longer able to bear the Tyranny and Insolence of those ungrateful Servants, who, as they *waxed the fatter*, did but *kick the more*; our two great Allies abroad, and our Stock-Jobbers at home, took immediate Alarm; applied the nearest Way to the Throne, by Memorials and Messages, jointly directing Her Majesty not to change her Secretary or Treasurer; who, for the true Reasons that these officious Intermeddlers demanded their Continuance, ought never to have been admitted into the least Degree of Trust; since what they did was nothing less than betraying the Interest of their native Country to those Princes, who, in their Turns, were to do what they could to support them in Power at home.

THUS

THUS it plainly appears, that there was a Conspiracy on all Sides to go on with those Measures, which must perpetuate the War ; and a Conspiracy founded upon the Interest and Ambition of each Party ; which begat so firm an Union, that, instead of wondering why it lasted so long, I am astonished to think how it came to be broken. The Prudence, Courage, and Firmness of Her Majesty, in all the Steps of that great Change, would, if the Particulars were truly related, make a very shining Part in her Story ; nor is her Judgment less to be admired, which directed her in the Choice of perhaps the only Persons who had Skill, Credit, and Resolution enough to be her Instruments in overthrowing so many Difficulties.

SOME would pretend to lessen the Merit of this, by telling us, that the Rudeness, the Tyranny, the Oppression, the Ingratitude of the late Favourites towards their Mistress, were no longer to be born. They produce Instances to shew, how Her Majesty was pursued through all Her Retreats, particularly at *Windsor* ; where, after the Enemy had possessed themselves of every Inch of Ground, they at last attacked and stormed the Castle, forcing the QUEEN to fly to an adjoining Cottage, pursuant to the Advice of *Solomon*, who tells us, *It is better to live on the House-top, than with a scolding Woman in a large House.* They would have it, that such continued ill Usage was enough to inflame the meekest Spirit. They blame the Favourites in point of Policy, and think it nothing extraordinary, that the QUEEN should be at an End of her Patience, and resolve to discard them. But I am of another Opinion, and think their Proceedings were right. For nothing is so apt to break even the bravest Spirits, as a conti-

nual Chain of Oppressions; one Injury is best defended by a second, and this by a third. By these Steps the old *Masters of the Palace* in France became *Masters of the Kingdom*; and, by these Steps, a *General during Pleasure* might have grown into a *General for Life*, and a *General for Life* into a *King*. So that I still insist upon it as a Wonder, how Her Majesty, thus besieged on all Sides, was able to extricate Herself.

HAVING thus mentioned the real Causes, although disguised under specious Pretences, which have so long continued the War, I must beg leave to reason a little with those Persons, who are against any Peace, but what they call a *good one*; and explain themselves, that no Peace can be *good*, without an entire Restoration of *Spain* to the House of *Austria*. It is to be supposed, that what I am to say upon this Part of the Subject, will have little Influence on those, whose particular Ends or Designs of any sort, lead them to wish the Continuance of the War: I mean the General, and our Allies abroad, the Knot of late Favourites at home, the Body of such as traffick in Stocks, and lastly, that Set of factious Politicians, who were so violently bent, at least, upon *clipping* our Constitution in Church and State. Therefore I shall not apply myself to any of these, but to all others indifferently, whether *Whigs* or *Tories*, whose private Interest is best answered by the Welfare of their Country. And, if among these there be any, who think we ought to fight on till King *Charles* be quietly settled in the Monarchy of *Spain*, I believe there are several Points, which they have not thoroughly considered.

FOR

For, first, it is to be observed, that this Resolution against any Peace without *Spain*, is a new Incident, grafted upon the original Quarrel, by the Intrigues of a Faction among us, who prevailed to give it the Sanction of a Vote in both Houses of Parliament, to justify those, whose Interest lay in perpetuating the War. And as this Proceeding was against the Practice of all Princes and States, whose Intentions were fair and honourable; so is it contrary to common Prudence, as well as Justice; I might add, that it was impious too, by presuming to controul Events, which are only in the Hands of God. Ours and the *States* Complaint against *France* and *Spain*, are deduced in each of our Declarations of War, and our Pretensions specified in the *Eighth Article* of the Grand Alliance; but there is not in any of these the least mention of demanding *Spain* for the *House of Austria*, or of refusing any Peace without that Condition. Having already made an Extract from both Declarations of War, I shall here give a Translation of the *Eighth Article* in the Grand Alliance, which will put this Matter out of Dispute.

THE
EIGHTH ARTICLE
OF THE
GRAND ALLIANCE.

WHEN the War is once undertaken, none of the Parties shall have the Liberty to enter upon a Treaty of Peace with the Enemy, but jointly, and

in

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in concert with the others. Nor is Peace to be made without having first obtained a just and reasonable Satisfaction for his Cæsarean Majesty, and for his Royal Majesty of Great Britain, and a particular Security to the Lords the States-General, of their Dominions, Provinces, Titles, Navigation, and Commerce: and a sufficient Provision, that the Kingdoms of France and Spain be never united, or come under the Government of the same Person, or that the same Man may never be King of both Kingdoms; and particularly, that the French may never be in Possession of the Spanish West-Indies; and that they may not have the Liberty of Navigation, for Conveniency of Trade, under any Pretence whatsoever, neither directly or indirectly; except it is agreed, that the Subjects of Great Britain and Holland may have full Power to use and enjoy all the same Privileges, Rights, Immunities, and Liberties of Commerce, by Land and Sea, in Spain, in the Mediterranean, and in all the Places and Countries which the late King of Spain, at the Time of his Death was in Possession of, as well in Europe as elsewhere, as they did then use and enjoy; or which the Subjects of both, or each Nation, could use and enjoy, by Virtue of any Right, obtained before the Death of the said King of Spain, either by Treaties, Conventions, Custom, or any other Way whatsoever.

HERE we see the Demands intended to be insisted on by the Allies upon any Treaty of Peace, are, a just and reasonable Satisfaction for the Emperor and King of Great Britain, a Security to the States-General for their Dominions, &c. and a sufficient Provision, that France and Spain be never united under the same Man, as King of both Kingdoms. The rest relates to the Liberty of Trade and Commerce

merce for us and the *Dutch*; but not a Syllable of engaging to dispossess the Duke of *Anjou*.

BUT to know how this new Language, of *No Peace without Spain*, was first introduced, and at last prevailed among us, we must begin a great deal higher.

IT was the Partition Treaty, which begot the Will in favour of the Duke of *Anjou*; for this naturally led the *Spaniards* to receive a Prince supported by a great Power, whose Interest, as well as Affection, engaged them to preserve the Monarchy entire, rather than to oppose him in favour of another Family, who must expect Assistance from a Number of Confederates, whose principal Members had already disposed of what did not belong to them, and, by a previous Treaty, parcelled out the Monarchy of *Spain*.

THUS the Duke of *Anjou* got into the full Possession of all the Kingdoms and States belonging to that Monarchy, as well in the old World as the new. And, whatever the House of *Austria* pretended from their Memorials to us and the *States*, it was at that time but too apparent, that the Inclinations of the *Spaniards* were on the Duke's Side.

HOWEVER, a War was resolved; and, in order to carry it on with great Vigour, a Grand Alliance formed, wherein the Ends proposed to be obtained, are plainly and distinctly laid down as I have already quoted them. It pleased God, in the Course of this War, to bless the Arms of the Allies with remarkable Successes; by which we were soon put into a Condition of demanding and expecting such Terms of Peace as we proposed to ourselves when we began the War. But instead of this, our Victories only served to lead us on to further visionary Prospects;

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Prospects; Advantage was taken of the sanguine Temper, which so many Successes had wrought the Nation up to; new Romantick Views were proposed, and the old, reasonable, sober Design was forgot.

THIS was the Artifice of those here, who were sure to grow richer, as the Publick became poorer; and who, after the Resolutions which the two Houses were prevailed upon to make, might have carried on the War with Safety to themselves till Malt and Land were mortgaged, till a general Excise was established, and the *dixieme denier* raised by Collectors in red Coats. And this was just the Circumstance which it suited their Interests to be in.

THE House of *Austria* approved this Scheme with Reason; since whatever would be obtained by the Blood and Treasure of others, was to accrue to that Family; while they only lent their Name to the Cause.

THE *Dutch* might, perhaps, have grown resty under their Burthen; but Care was likewise taken of that by a *Barrier-Treaty* made with the *States*, which deserveth such Epithets as I care not to bestow; but may perhaps consider it, at a proper Occasion, in a *Discourse* by itself.

By this Treaty the Condition of the War, with respect to the *Dutch*, was wisely altered; they fought no longer for Security, but for Grandeur; and we, instead of labouring to make them *safe*, must beggar ourselves to make them *formidable*.

WILL any one contend, that if, at the Treaty of *Gertruydenburg*, we could have been satisfied with such Terms of a Peace, as we proposed to ourselves by the Grand Alliance, the *French* would not have allowed them? It is plain they offered many more, and

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and much greater, than ever we thought to insist on when the War began; and they had Reason to grant, as well as we to demand them; since Conditions of Peace do certainly turn upon Events of War. But surely there is some Measure to be observed in this; those who have defended the Proceedings of our Negotiators at the Treaty of *Gertruydenburg* dwell very much upon their Zeal and Patience, in endeavouring to work the *French* up to their Demands; but say nothing to justify those Demands, or the Probability that *France* would ever accept them. Some of the Articles in that Treaty were so very extravagant, that, in all human Probability, we could not have obtained them by a successful War of forty Years. One of them was inconsistent with common Reason; wherein the Confederates reserved to themselves full Liberty of demanding what further Conditions they should think fit; and in the mean Time, *France* was to deliver up several of their strongest Towns in a Month. These Articles were very gravely signed by our Plenipotentiaries, and those of *Holland*; but not by the *French*, although it ought to have been done interchangeably; nay, they were brought over by the Secretary of the Embassy; and the Ministers here prevailed on the QUEEN to execute a Ratification of Articles, which only one Part had signed. This was an Absurdity in Form, as well as in Reason; because the usual Form of a Ratification is with a Preamble, shewing; *That whereas our Ministers, and those of the Allies, and of the Enemy, have signed, &c. We ratify, &c.* * The Person, who brought over the Articles, said in all Companies (and per-

* *Horatio Walpole*, Secretary to that Embassy.

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haps believed) that it was a Pity we had not demanded more ; for the *French* were in a Disposition to refuse us nothing we would ask. One of our Plenipotentiaries affected to have the same Concern ; and particularly that we had not obtained some further Security for the Empire on the *Upper Rhine*.

WHAT could be the Design of all this Grimace, but to amuse the People, and to raise Stocks, for their Friends in the Secret to sell to Advantage ? I have too great a Respect for the Abilities of those who acted in this Negotiation, to believe they hoped for any other Issue from it, than that we found by the Event. Give me leave to suppose the Continuance of the War was the Thing at Heart among those in Power, both abroad and at home ; and then I can easily shew the Consistency of their Proceedings ; otherwise they are wholly unaccountable and absurd. Did those, who insisted on such wild Demands, ever sincerely intend a Peace ? Did they really think, that going on with the War was more eligible for their Country, than the least Abatement of those Conditions ? Was the smallest of them worth six Millions a Year, and an hundred thousand Mens Lives ? Was there no Way to provide for the Safety of *Britain*, or the Security of its Trade, but by the *French* King's turning his Arms to beat his own Grandson out of *Spain* ? If these able Statesmen were so truly concerned for our Trade, which they made the Pretence of the War's Beginning, as well as Continuance ; why did they so neglect it in those very Preliminaries, where the Enemy made so many Concessions, and where all that related to the Advantage of *Holland*, or the other Confederates, was expressly settled ? But whatever concerned us
was

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was to be left to a general Treaty; no *Tariff* agreed on with *France* or the *Low Countries*, only the *Schelde* was to remain shut, which must have ruined our Commerce with *Antwerp*. Our Trade with *Spain* was referred the same Way; but this they will pretend to be of no Consequence; because that Kingdom was to be under the House of *Austria*; and we have already made a Treaty with King *Charles*. I have, indeed, heard of a Treaty made by Mr. *Stanhope* with that Prince, for settling our Commerce with *Spain*: But whatever it were, there was another between us and *Holland*, which went Hand in Hand with it, I mean that of Barrier; wherein a Clause was inserted, by which all Advantages proposed for *Britain*, are to be in common with *Holland*.

ANOTHER Point which I doubt those have not considered, who are against any Peace without *Spain*, is, that the Face of Affairs in *Christendom*, since the *Emperor's* Death, hath been very much changed. By this Accident the Views and Interests of several Princes and States in the Alliance, have taken a new Turn, and, I believe, it will be found, that ours ought to do so too. We have sufficiently blundered once already, by changing our Measures, with regard to a Peace, while our Affairs continued in the same Posture; and it will be too much in Conscience to blunder again by *not* changing the first, when the others are so much altered.

To have a Prince of the *Austrian* Family on the Throne of *Spain*, is undoubtedly more desirable than one of the House of *Bourbon*; but to have the *Empire* and *Spanish* Monarchy united in the same Person, is a dreadful Consideration, and directly opposite

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sité to that wise Principle, on which the eighth Article of the Alliance is founded.

To this perhaps it will be objected, that the indolent Character of the *Austrian* Princes, the wretched Oeconomy of that Government, the want of a Naval Force, the remote Distance of their several Territories from each other, would never suffer an *Emperor*, although at the same time King of *Spain*, to become formidable : On the contrary, that his Dependence must continually be on *Great Britain*, and the Advantages of Trade, by a Peace founded upon that Condition, would soon make us Amends for all the Expences of the War.

IN Answer to this, let us consider the Circumstances we must be in, before such a Peace could be obtained, if it were at all practicable. We must become, not only poor for the present, but reduced, by further Mortgages, to a State of Beggary for endless Years to come. Compare such a weak Condition as this with so great an Accession of Strength to *Austria* ; and then determine how much an *Emperor*, in such a State of Affairs, would either fear or need *Britain*.

CONSIDER, that the Comparison is not formed between a Prince of the House of *Austria*, Emperor and King of *Spain*, and a Prince of the *Bourbon* Family, King of *France* and *Spain* ; but between a Prince of the latter, only King of *Spain*, and one of the former uniting both Crowns in his own Person.

WHAT Returns of Gratitude can we expect, when we are no longer wanted ? Hath all that we have hitherto done for the Imperial Family been taken as a Favour, or only received as the Due of the *Augustissima Casa* ?

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WILL the House of *Austria* yield the least Acre of Land, the least Article of strained, and even usurped Prerogative, to resettle the Minds of those Princes in the Alliance, who are alarmed at the Consequences of this Turn of Affairs, occasioned by the *Emperor's* Death? We are assured it never will. Do we then imagine, that those Princes, who dread the overgrown Power of the *Austrian*, as much as that of the *Bourbon* Family, will continue in our Alliance, upon a System contrary to that which they engaged with us upon? For Instance: What can the Duke of *Savoy* expect in such a Case? Will he have any Choice left him, but that of being a Slave and a Frontier to *France*; or a *Vassal*, in the utmost Extent of the Word, to the Imperial Court? Will he not therefore of the two Evils chuse the least; by submitting to a Master, who hath no immediate Claim upon him, and to whose Family he is nearly allied; rather than to another, who hath already revived several Claims upon him, and threatens to revive more?

NOR are the *Dutch* more inclined than the rest of *Europe*, that the *Empire* and *Spain* should be united in King *Charles*, whatever they may now pretend. On the contrary, it is known to several Persons, that, upon the Death of the late *Emperor Joseph*, the States resolved, that those two Powers should not be joined in the same Person; and this they determined as a fundamental Maxim, by which they intended to proceed. So that *Spain* was first given up by them; and since they maintain no Troops in that Kingdom, it should seem, that they understand the Duke of *Anjou* to be lawful Monarch.

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THIRDLY, Those who are against any Peace without *Spain*, if they be such as no way find their private Account by the War, may perhaps change their Sentiments, if they will reflect a little upon our present Condition.

I HAD two Reasons for not sooner publishing this Discourse; The first was, because I would give Way to others, who might argue very well upon the same Subject, from general Topicks and Reason, although they might be ignorant of several Facts, which I had the Opportunity to know. The second was, because I found it would be necessary, in the Course of this Argument, to say something of the State to which the War hath reduced us; at the same Time I knew, that such a Discovery ought to be made as late as possible, and, at another Juncture, would not only be very indiscreet, but might perhaps be dangerous.

It is the Folly of too many, to mistake the Echo of a *London Coffee-House* for the Voice of the Kingdom. The City Coffee-Houses have been for some Years filled with People, whose Fortunes depend upon the *Bank*, *East India*, or some other Stock. Every new Fund to these, is like a new Mortgage to an Usurer, whose Compassion for a young Heir is exactly the same with that of a Stock-jobber to the Landed Gentry. At the Court End of the Town, the like Places of Resort are frequented either by Men out of Place, and consequently Enemies to the present Ministry, or by Officers of the Army: No wonder then if the general Cry, in all such Meetings, be against any Peace either *with Spain*, or *without*; which, in other Words, is no more than this; that discontented Men desire another Change of the Ministry; that Soldiers would
be

be glad to keep their Commissions; and that the Creditors have Money still, and would have the Debtors borrow on at the old extorting Rate, while they have any Security to give.

Now to give the most ignorant Reader some Idea of our present Circumstances, without troubling him or myself with Computations in form: Every body knows that our Land and Malt Tax amount annually to about two Millions and an half. All other Branches of the Revenue are mortgaged to pay Interest for what we have already borrowed. The yearly Charge of the War is usually about six Millions; to make up which Sum, we are forced to take up, on the Credit of new Funds, about three Millions and an half. This last Year the computed Charge of the War came to above a Million more than all the Funds the Parliament could contrive were sufficient to pay Interest; and so we have been forced to divide a Deficiency of twelve hundred thousand Pounds among the several Branches of our Expence. This is a Demonstration, that if the War be to last another Campaign, it will be impossible to find Funds for supplying it, without mortgaging the Malt Tax, or by some other Method equally desperate.

If the Peace be made this Winter, we are then to consider, what Circumstances we shall be in towards paying a Debt of about fifty Millions; which is a sixth Part of the Purchase of the whole Island, if it were to be sold.

TOWARDS clearing ourselves of this monstrous Incumbrance, some of these Annuities will expire, or pay off the Principal in thirty, forty, or an hundred Years; the Bulk of the Debt must be lessened gradually by the best Management we can, out of

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what will remain of the Land and Malt-Taxes, after paying Guards and Garisons, and maintaining and supplying our Fleet in the Time of Peace. I have not Skill enough to compute what will be left, after these necessary Charges, towards annually clearing so vast a Debt ; but believe it must be very little : However, it is plain that both these Taxes must be continued, as well for supporting the Government, as because we have no other Means for paying off the Principal. And so likewise must all these other Funds remain for paying the Interest. How long a Time this must require, how steddily an Administration, and how undisturbed a State of Affairs, both at Home and Abroad, let others determine.

HOWEVER, some People think all this very reasonable ; and that since the Struggle hath been for Peace and Safety, Posterity, which is to partake the Benefit, ought to share in the Expence : As if, at the breaking out of the War, there had been such a Conjunction of Affairs as never happened before, nor would ever happen again. It is wonderful, that our Ancestors, in all their Wars, should never fall under such a Necessity ; that we meet no Examples of it in *Greece* and *Rome* ; that no other Nation in *Europe* ever knew any thing like it, except *Spain* about an hundred and twenty Years ago, which they drew upon themselves by their own Folly, and have suffered for it ever since ; no doubt we shall teach Posterity Wisdom, but they will be apt to think the Purchase too dear, and I wish they may stand to the Bargain we have made in their Names.

It is easy to entail Debts on succeeding Ages, and to hope they will be able and willing to pay them ;

them ; but how to ensure Peace for any Term of Years, is difficult enough to apprehend. Will human Nature ever cease to have the same Passions, Princes to entertain Designs of Interest or Ambition, and Occasions of Quarrel to arise ? May not we ourselves, by the Variety of Events and Incidents which happen in the World, be under a Necessity of recovering Towns out of the very Hands of those, for whom we are now ruining our Country to take them ? Neither can it be said, that those *States*, with whom we may probably differ, will be in as bad a Condition as ourselves ; for, by the Circumstances of our Situation, and the Impositions of our Allies, we are more exhausted than either they, or the Enemy ; and, by the Nature of our Government, the Corruption of our Manners, and the Opposition of Factions, we shall be more slow in recovering.

It will, no doubt, be a mighty Comfort to our Grand-children, when they see a few Rags hung up in *Westminster-Hall*, which cost an hundred Millions, whereof they are paying the Arrears, and boasting as Beggars do, that their Grandfathers were rich and great.

I HAVE often reflected on that mistaken Notion of Credit, so boasted of by the Advocates of the late Ministry : Was not all that Credit built upon Funds raised by the Landed Men, whom they now so much hate and despise ? Is not the greatest Part of those Funds raised from the Growth and Product of Land ? Must not the whole Debt be entirely paid, and our Fleets and Garisons be maintained, by the Land and Malt-Tax after a Peace ? If they call it Credit to run ten Millions in Debt without Parliamentary Security, by which the Publick is de-

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frauded of almost half; I must think such Credit to be dangerous, illegal, and perhaps treasonable. Neither hath any thing gone further to ruin the Nation than their boasted Credit. For my own Part, when I saw this false Credit sink, upon the Change of the Ministry, I was singular enough to conceive it a good Omen. It seemed as if the young extravagant Heir had got a new Steward, and was resolved to look into his Estate before things grew desperate, which made the Usurers forbear feeding him with Money, as they were wont to do.

SINCE the Monied Men are so fond of War, I should be glad they would furnish out one Campaign at their own Charge: It is not above six or seven Millions; and I dare engage to make it out, that, when they have done this, instead of contributing equal to the Landed Men, they will have their full Principal and Interest at six *per Cent.* remaining of all the Money they ever lent to the Government.

WITHOUT this Resource, or some other equally miraculous, it is impossible for us to continue the War upon the same Foot. I have already observed, that the last Funds of Interest fell short above a Million, although the Persons most conversant in Ways and Means employed their utmost Inventions; so that of Necessity we must be still more defective next Campaign. But perhaps our Allies will make up this Deficiency on our Side by greater Efforts on their own. Quite the contrary; both the *Emperor* and *Holland* failed this Year in several Articles; and signified to us some time ago, that they cannot keep up to the same Proportions in the next. We have gained a noble Barrier for the latter, and they have nothing more to demand or desire. The *Emperor*, however

however sanguine he may now affect to appear, will, I suppose, be satisfied with *Naples, Sicily, Milan*, and his other Acquisitions, rather than engage in a long, hopeless War, for the Recovery of *Spain*, to which his Allies the *Dutch* will neither give their Assistance, nor Consent. So that since we have done their Business, since they have no further Service for our Arms, and we have no more Money to give them; and, lastly, since we neither desire any Recompence, nor expect any Thanks, we ought, in pity, to be dismissed, and have leave to shift for ourselves. They are ripe for a Peace, to enjoy and cultivate what we have conquered for them; and so are we, to recover, if possible, the Effects of their Hardships upon us. The first Overtures from *France* are made to *England* upon safe and honourable Terms; we, who bore the Burthen of the War, ought in Reason to have the greatest Share in making the Peace. If we do not hearken to a Peace, others certainly will, and get the Advantage of us there, as they have done in the War. We know the *Dutch* have perpetually threatened us, that they would enter into separate Measures of a Peace; and, by the Strength of that Argument, as well as by other powerful Motives, prevailed on those who were then at the Helm, to comply with them on any Terms, rather than put an End to a War, which every Year brought them such great Accessions to their Wealth and Power. Whoever falls off, a Peace will follow; and then we must be content with such Conditions as our Allies, out of their great Concern for our Safety and Interest, will please to chuse. They have no further Occasion for fighting, they have gained their Point, and they now tell us, it is

our War; so that, in common Justice, it ought to be our Peace.

ALL we can propose, by the desperate Steps of pawning our Land or Malt Tax, or erecting a General Excise, is only to raise a Fund of Interest, for running us annually four Millions further in Debt, without any Prospect of ending the War so well as we can do at present. And when we have sunk the only unengaged Revenues we had left, our Incumbrances must of Necessity remain perpetual.

We have hitherto lived upon Expedients, which, in Time, will certainly destroy any Constitution, whether Civil or Natural; and there was no Country in *Christendom* had less Occasion for them than ours. We have dieted a healthy Body into a Consumption, by plying it with Physick instead of Food. Art will help us no longer, and if we cannot recover by letting the Remains of Nature work, we must inevitably die.

WHAT Arts have been used to possess the People with a strong Delusion that *Britain* must infallibly be ruined, without the Recovery of *Spain* to the House of *Austria*? Making the Safety of a great and powerful Kingdom, as ours was then, to depend upon an Event, which, even after a War of miraculous Successes, proves impracticable. As if Princes and great Ministers could find no Way of settling the publick Tranquillity, without changing the Possessions of Kingdoms, and forcing Sovereigns upon a People against their Inclinations. Is there no Security for the Island of *Britain*, unless a King of *Spain* be dethroned by the Hands of his Grandfather? Has the Enemy no cautionary Towns and Sea-ports to give us for securing Trade? Can he not deliver us Possession of such Places as would put him
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in a worse Condition, whenever he should perfidiously renew the War? The present King of *France* has but few Years to live by the Course of Nature, and, doubtless, would desire to end his Days in Peace. Grandfathers, in private Families, are not observed to have great Influence on their Grandsons; and I believe they have much less among Princes. However, when the Authority of a Parent is gone, is it likely that *Philip* will be directed by a Brother, against his own Interest, and that of his Subjects? Have not those two Realms their separate Maxims of Policy, which must operate in Times of Peace? These at least are Probabilities, and cheaper by six Millions a Year than recovering *Spain*, or continuing the War, both which seem absolutely impossible.

BUT the common Question is, If we must now surrender *Spain*, what have we been fighting for all this while? The Answer is ready: We have been fighting for the Ruin of the publick Interest, and the Advancement of a private. We have been fighting to raise the Wealth and Grandeur of a particular Family; to enrich Usurers and Stock-jobbers, and to cultivate the pernicious Designs of a Faction, by destroying the Landed Interest. The Nation begins now to think these *Blessings* are not worth fighting for any longer, and therefore desires a Peace.

BUT the Advocates on the other Side cry out, that we might have had a better Peace, than is now in Agitation, above two Years ago. Supposing this to be true, I do assert, that, by Parity of Reason, we must expect one just so much the worse about two Years hence. If those in Power could then have given us a better Peace, more is their Infamy and Guilt,

Guilt, that they did it not. Why did they insist upon Conditions, which they were certain would never be granted? We allow it was in their Power to have put a good End to the War, and left the Nation in some Hope of recovering itself. And this is what we charge them with as answerable to God, their Country, and Posterity, that the bleeding Condition of their Fellow-Subjects was a Feather in the Balance with their private Ends.

WHEN we offer to lament the heavy Debts and Poverty of the Nation, it is pleasant to hear some Men answer all that can be said, by crying up the Power of *England*, the Courage of *England*, the inexhaustible Riches of *England*. I have heard a * Man very sanguine upon this Subject, with a good Employment for Life, and an hundred thousand Pounds in the Funds, bidding us *take Courage*; and *warranting, that all would go well*. This is the Style of Men at Ease, who lay heavy Burthens upon others, which they will not touch with one of their Fingers. I have known some People such ill Computers, as to imagine the many Millions in Stocks and Annuities, are so much real Wealth in the Nation; whereas every Farthing of it is entirely lost to us, scattered in *Holland*, *Germany*, and *Spain*; and the Landed Men, who now pay the Interest, must at last pay the Principal.

FOURTHLY, Those who are against any Peace without *Spain*, have, I doubt, been ill informed as to the low Condition of *France*, and the mighty Consequences of our Successes. As to the first, it must be confessed, that, after the Battle of *Ramillies*,

* The late Lord *Halifax*.

the *French* were so discouraged with their frequent Losses, and so impatient for a Peace, that their King was resolved to comply upon any reasonable Terms. But when his Subjects were informed of our exorbitant Demands, they grew jealous of his Honour, and were unanimous to assist him in continuing the War at any Hazard, rather than submit. This fully restored his Authority; and the Supplies he hath received from the *Spanish West-Indies*, which, in all, are computed since the War, to amount to four hundred Millions of Livres, and all in *Specie*, have enabled him to pay his Troops. Besides, the Money is spent in his own Country; and he hath since waged War in the most thrifty Manner, by acting on the Defensive; compounding with us every Campaign for a Town, which costs us fifty times more than its Worth, either as to the Value, or the Consequences. Then he is at no Charge for a Fleet, further than providing Privateers, wherewith his Subjects carry on a pyratrical War at their own Expence, and he shares in the Profit; which hath been very considerable to *France*, and of infinite Disadvantage to us; not only by the perpetual Losses we have suffered, to an immense Value, but by the general Discouragement of Trade, on which we so much depend. All this considered, with the Circumstances of that Government, where the Prince is Master of the Lives and Fortunes of so mighty a Kingdom, shews that Monarch not to be so sunk in his Affairs as we have imagined, and have long flattered ourselves with the Hopes of.

THOSE who are against any Peace without *Spain*, seem likewise to have been mistaken in judging our Victories, and other Successes, to have been of greater Consequence than they really were.

WHEN

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WHEN our Armies take a Town in *Flanders*, the *Dutch* are immediately put into *Possession*, and we at Home make *Bonfires*. I have sometimes pitied the deluded People, to see them squandering away their Fewel to so little purpose. For Example : What is it to us that *Bouchain* is taken, about which the war-like Politicians of the Coffee-House make such a Clutter ? What, though the Garison surrendered Prisoners of War, and in Sight of the Enemy ? We are not now in a Condition to be fed with Points of Honour. What Advantage have we, but that of spending three or four Millions more to get another Town for the *States*, which may open them a new Country for *Contributions*, and increase the Perquisites of the General ?

IN that War of ten Years under the late King, when our Commanders and Soldiers were raw and unexperienced, in Comparison of what they are at present, we lost Battles and Towns, as well as we gained them of late, since those Gentlemen have better learned their Trade ; yet we bore up then, as the *French* do now ; nor was there any thing decisive in their Successes ; they grew weary as well as we, and at last consented to a Peace, under which we might have been happy enough, if it had not been followed by that wise *Treaty of Partition*, which revived the Flame that hath lasted ever since. I see nothing else in the modern Way of making War, but that the Side, which can hold out longest, will end it with most Advantage. In such a close Country as *Flanders*, where it is carried on by Sieges, the Army that acts offensively, is at a much greater Expence of Men and Money ; and there is hardly a Town taken, in the common Forms, where the Besiegers have not the worse of the Bargain. I never

ver yet knew a Soldier, who would not affirm, that any Town might be taken, if you were content to be at the Charge. If you will count upon sacrificing so much Blood and Treasure, the rest is all a regular, established Method, which cannot fail. When the King of *France*, in the Times of his Grandeur, sat down before a Town, his Generals and Engineers would often fix the Day when it should surrender. The Enemy, sensible of all this, hath, for some Years past, avoided a Battle, where he hath so ill succeeded, and taken a surer Way to consume us, by letting our Courage evaporate against Stones and Rubbish, and sacrificing a single Town to a Campaign, which he can so much better afford to lose, than we to take.

LASTLY, Those who are so violently against any Peace, without *Spain* being restored to the House of *Austria*, have not, I believe, cast their Eye upon a Cloud gathering in the North, which we have helped to raise, and may quickly break in a Storm upon our Heads.

THE Northern War hath been on Foot almost ever since our Breach with *France*. The Success of it is various; but one Effect to be apprehended was always the same, that, sooner or later, it would involve us in its Consequences; and that, whenever this happened, let our Success be never so great against *France*, from that Moment *France* would have the Advantage.

By our Guaranty of the Treaty of *Travendall*, we were obliged to hinder the King of *Denmark* from engaging in a War with *Sweden*. It was at that Time understood by all Parties, and so declared, even by the *British* Ministers, that this Engagement specially

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specially regarded *Denmark's* not assisting King *Augustus*. But, however, if this had not been so, yet our Obligation to *Sweden* stood in Force, by Virtue of former Treaties with that Crown, which were all revived and confirmed by a subsequent one, concluded at the *Hague* by Sir *Joseph Williamson* and Monsieur *Lilienroot*, about the latter End of the King's Reign.

HOWEVER, the War in the North proceeded; and our not assisting *Sweden* was at least as well excused by the War which we were entangled in, as his not contributing his Contingent to the Empire, whereof he is a Member, was excused by the Prefures he lay under, having a Confederacy to deal with.

IN this War the King of *Sweden* was victorious; and what Dangers were we not then exposed to? What Fears were we not in? He marched into *Saxony*, and, if he had really been in the *French* Interest, might at once have put us under the greatest Difficulties. But the Torrent turned another Way, and he contented himself with imposing on his Enemy the Treaty of *Alt Rastadt*; by which King *Augustus* makes an absolute Cession of the Crown of *Poland*, renounces any Title to it, acknowledges *Stanislaus*; and then both he and the King of *Sweden* join in desiring the Guarantee of *England* and *Holland*. The QUEEN did not, indeed, give this Guarantee in Form; but, as a Step towards it, the Title of King was given to *Stanislaus* by a Letter from Her Majesty; and the strongest Assurances were given to the *Swedish* Minister, in Her Majesty's Name, and in a Committee of Council, that the Guarantee should speedily be granted; and that in the mean while it was the same Thing as if the Forms were passed.

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IN 1708 King *Augustus* made the Campaign in *Flanders*; what Measures he might at that Time take, or of what Nature the Arguments might be that he made use of, is not known; but immediately after, he breaks through all he had done, marches into *Poland*, and reassumes the Crown.

AFTER this we apprehended, that the Peace of the Empire might be endangered; and therefore entered into an Act of Guarantee for the Neutrality of it. The King of *Sweden* refused, upon several Accounts, to submit to the Terms of this Treaty; particularly because we went out of the Empire to cover *Poland* and *Jutland*; but did not go out of it to cover the Territories of *Sweden*.

LET us therefore consider what is our Case at present. If the King of *Sweden* return, and get the better, he will think himself under no Obligation of having any Regard to the Interests of the Allies; but will naturally Pursue, according to his own Expression, *his Enemy wherever he finds him*. In this Case the Corps of the Neutrality is obliged to oppose him; and so we are engaged in a second War before the first be ended.

IF the Northern Confederates succeed against *Sweden*, how shall we be able to preserve the Balance of Power in the North, so essential to our Trade, as well as in many other Respects? What will become of that great Support of the Protestant Interest in *Germany*, which is the Footing that the *Swedes* now have in the Empire? Or who shall answer, that these Princes, after they have settled the North to their Minds, may not take a Fancy to look Southward, and make our Peace with *France* according to their own Schemes?

AND,

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AND, lastly, if the King of *Prussia*, the Elector of *Hanover*, and other Princes, whose Dominions lie contiguous, be forced to draw from those Armies which act against *France*, we must live in hourly Expectation of having those Troops recalled, which they now leave with us; and this Recal may happen in the midst of a Siege, or on the Eve of a Battle. Is it therefore our Interest to toil on in a ruinous War, for an impracticable End, till one of these Cases shall happen, or to get under Shelter before the Storm?

THERE is no doubt, but the present Ministry (provided they could get over the Obligations of Honour and Conscience) might find their Advantage in advising the Continuance of the War, as well as the last did, although not in the same Degree after the Kingdom hath been so much exhausted. They might prolong it till the Parliament desire a Peace; and, in the mean Time, leave them in full Possession of Power. Therefore it is plain, that their Proceedings, at present, are meant to serve their Country, directly against their private Interest; whatever Clamour may be raised by those, who, for the vilest Ends, would remove Heaven and Earth to oppose their Measures. But they think it infinitely better to accept such Terms as will secure our Trade, find a sufficient Barrier for the *States*, give *reasonable Satisfaction* to the Emperor, and restore the Tranquillity of *Europe*, although without adding *Spain* to the Empire; rather than go on in a languishing Way, upon the vain Expectation of some improbable Turn, for the Recovery of that Monarchy out of the *Bourbon* Family; and at last be forced to a worse Peace, by some of the Allies falling off, upon our utter Inability to continue the War.

SOME

SOME
REMARKS
ON THE
Barrier Treaty
BETWEEN
HER MAJESTY
AND THE
STATES-GENERAL.

To which are added,

The said BARRIER-TREATY, with the two
separate ARTICLES; Part of the Counter-Pro-
ject; The Sentiments of Prince EUGENE and Count
SINZENDORF upon the said Treaty; And a Re-
presentation of the *English* Merchants at *Bruges*.

Written in the Year 1712.

VOL. VIII.

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P R E F A C E.

*W*HEN I published the Discourse, called The Conduct of the Allies, I had Thoughts either of inserting or annexing the Barrier-Treaty at length, with such Observations as I conceived might be useful for publick Information: But that Discourse taking up more Room than I designed, after my utmost Endeavours to abbreviate it, I contented myself only with making some few Reflections upon that famous Treaty, sufficient, as I thought, to answer the Design of my Book. I have since heard, that my Readers in general seem'd to wish I had been more particular, and have discovered an Impatience to have that Treaty made publick, especially since it hath been laid before the House of Commons.

That I may give some Light to the Reader, who is not well versed in these Affairs, he may please to know, that a Project for a Treaty of Barrier with the States was transmitted hither from Holland; but being disapproved of by our Court in several Parts, a new Project, or Scheme of a Treaty, was drawn up here, with many Additions and Alterations. This last was called the Counter-Project; and was the Measure whereby the Duke of Marlborough and my Lord Townshend were commanded and instructed to proceed, in negotiating a Treaty of Barrier with the States.

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I have added a Translation of this Counter-Project, in those Articles where it differs from the Barrier-Treaty, that the Reader, by comparing them together, may judge how punctually those Negotiators observed their Instructions. I have likewise subjoined the Sentiments of Prince Eugene of Savoy, and the Count De Sinzendorf, relating to this Treaty, written (I suppose) while it was negotiating. And, lastly, I have added a Copy of the Representation of the British Merchants at Bruges, signifying what Inconveniences they already felt, and further apprehended from this Barrier-Treaty.



S O M E
R E M A R K S
O N T H E
Barrier Treaty, &c.

IMAGINE a reasonable Person in *China* were reading the following Treaty, and one who was ignorant of our Affairs, or our Geography; he would conceive their High Mightinesses the *States-General* to be some vast, powerful Commonwealth, like that of *Rome*; and *HER MAJESTY* to be a petty Princess, like one of those to whom that Republick would sometimes send a Diadem for a Present, when they behaved themselves well; otherwise could dispose at Pleasure, and place whom they thought fit in his stead. Such a Man would think, that the *States* had taken our Prince and us into their *Protection*; and, in Return, honoured us so far as to make use of our Troops as some small Assistance in their Conquests, and the Enlargement of their Empire; or to prevent the Incurfions of *Barbarians* upon some of their out-lying Provinces. But how must it sound in an *European* Ear, that *Great Britain*,

after maintaining a War for so many Years, with so much Glory and Success, and such prodigious Expence; after saving the *Empire*, *Holland*, and *Portugal*, and almost recovering *Spain*, should, towards the Close of a War, enter into a Treaty with Seven *Dutch* Provinces, to secure to them a Dominion larger than their own, which she had conquered for them; to undertake for a great deal more, without stipulating the least Advantage for herself; and accept, as an Equivalent, the mean Condition of those *States* assisting to preserve her *QUEEN* on the Throne, whom, by *GOD*'s Assistance, she is able to defend against all her Majesty's *Enemies* and *Allies* put together?

SUCH a wild Bargain could never have been made for us, if the *States* had not found it their Interest to use very powerful Motives with the chief Advisers, (I say nothing of the Person immediately employed;) and if a Party here at Home had not been resolved, for Ends and Purposes very well known, to continue the War as long as they had any Occasion for it.

THE *Counter-Project* of this Treaty made here at *London*, was bad enough in all Conscience: I have said something of it in the *Preface*; Her Majesty's Ministers were instructed to proceed by it in their Negotiation. There was one Point in that Project, which would have been of Consequence to *Britain*, and one or two more, where the Advantages of the *States* were not so very exorbitant; and where some Care was taken of the *House of Austria*. Is it possible, that our good *Allies* and *Friends* could not be brought to any Terms with us, unless by striking out every Particular that might do us any good, and adding still more to them, where so much was already

already granted? For Instance, the Article about demolishing of *Dunkirk* surely might have remained; which was of some Benefit to the *States*, as well as of mighty Advantage to us; and which the *French King* hath lately yielded in one of his Preliminaries, although clogged with the Demand of an Equivalent, which will owe its Difficulty only to this Treaty.

BUT let me now consider the Treaty itself: Among the one and twenty Articles, of which it consists, only two have any Relation to us, importing, that the *Dutch* are to be Guarantees of our Succession, and are not to enter into any Treaty until the QUEEN is acknowledged by *France*. We know very well, that it is in Consequence the Interest of the *States*, as much as ours, that *Britain* should be governed by a *Protestant Prince*. Besides, what is there more in this Guarantee, than in all common Leagues Offensive and Defensive between two Powers, where each is obliged to defend the other against any Invader with all their Strength? Such was the Grand Alliance between the *Emperor*, *Britain*, and *Holland*, which was, or ought to have been, as good a Guarantee of our Succession, to all Intents and Purposes, as this in the *Barrier Treaty*, and the mutual Engagements in such Alliances have been always reckoned sufficient, without any separate Benefit to either Party.

IT is, no doubt, for the Interest of *Britain*, that the *States* should have a sufficient Barrier against *France*; but their High Mightinesses, for some few Years past, have put a different Meaning upon the Word *Barrier*, from what it formerly used to bear, when applied to them. When the late King was Prince of *Orange*, and commanded their Armies

against *France*, it was never once imagined, that any of the Towns taken should belong to the *Dutch*; they were all immediately delivered up to their lawful Monarch; and *Flanders* was only a *Barrier* to *Holland*, as it was in the Hands of *Spain*, rather than *France*. So in the Grand Alliance of 1701, the several Powers promising to endeavour to recover *Flanders* for a Barrier, was understood to be the recovering those Provinces to the King of *Spain*: But, in this Treaty, the Style is wholly changed: Here are about twenty Towns and Forts of great Importance, with their Chattellanies and Dependencies (which Dependencies are likewise to be enlarged as much as possible) and the whole Revenues of them, to be under the perpetual Military Government of the *Dutch*, by which that Republick will be entirely Masters of the richest Part of all *Flanders*; and, upon any Appearance of War, they may put the Garisons into any other Place of the *Low-Countries*; and farther, the King of *Spain* is to give them a Revenue of four hundred thousand Crowns a Year, to enable them to maintain those Garisons.

Why should we wonder that the *Dutch* are inclined to perpetuate the War, when, by an Article in this Treaty, the King of *Spain* is not to possess one single Town in the *Low-Countries*, until a Peace be made. The Duke of *Anjou*, at the Beginning of this War, maintained six and thirty thousand Men out of those *Spanish* Provinces he then possessed: To which, if we add the many Towns since taken, which were not in the late King of *Spain*'s Possession at the Time of his Death, with all their Territories and Dependencies; it is visible what Forces the *States* may be able to keep, even without any Charge to their peculiar Dominions.

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THE Towns and Chattellanies of this Barrier always maintained their Garisons when they were in the Hands of *France*; and, as it is reported, returned a considerable Sum of Money into the King's Coffers; yet the King of *Spain* is obliged, by this Treaty (as we have already observed) to add, over and above, a Revenue of four hundred thousand Crowns a Year. We know likewise, that a great Part of the Revenue of the *Spanish Netherlands* is already pawned to the *States*; so that, after a Peace, nothing will be left to the Sovereign, nor will the People be much eased of the Taxes they at present labour under.

THUS the *States*, by Virtue of this *Barrier-Treaty*, will, in effect, be absolute Sovereigns of all *Flanders*, and of the whole Revenues in the utmost Extent.

AND here I cannot, without some Contempt, take Notice of a sort of Reasoning offered by several People, that the many Towns we have taken for the *Dutch* are of no Advantage; because the whole Revenues of those Towns are spent in maintaining them. For, first, the Fact is manifestly false, particularly as to *Lisley*, and some others. Secondly, The *States*, after a Peace, are to have four hundred thousand Crowns a Year out of the Remainder of *Flanders*, which is then to be left to *Spain*. And, lastly, suppose all these acquired Dominions will not bring a Penny into their Treasury, what can be of greater Consequence, than to be able to maintain a mighty Army out of their new Conquests, which before they always did by taxing their natural Subjects?

How shall we be able to answer it to King *Charles III.* that, while we pretend to endeavour restoring

storing him to the entire Monarchy of *Spain*, we join at the same Time with the *Dutch*, to deprive him of his natural Right to the *Low-Countries*?

BUT suppose by a *Dutch* Barrier must now be understood only what is to be in Possession of the *States*; yet, even under this Acceptation of the Word, nothing was originally meant except a *Barrier* against *France*; whereas several Towns demanded by the *Dutch* in this Treaty, can be of no Use at all in such a *Barrier*. And this is the Sentiment even of Prince *Eugene* himself (the present Oracle and Idol of the Party here) who says, *That Dendermond, Ostend, and the Castle of Gand, do, in no sort, belong to the Barrier; nor can be of other Use, than to make the States General Masters of the Low-Countries, and hinder their Trade with England.* And further: *That those who are acquainted with the Country, know very well, that Lier and Hale to fortify, can give no Security to the States, as a Barrier, but only raise a Jealousy in the People, that those Places are only fortified, in order to block up Brussels, and the other great Towns of Brabant.*

IN those Towns of *Flanders* where the *Dutch* are to have Garisons, but the Ecclesiastical and Civil Power to remain to the King of *Spain* after a Peace, the *States* have Power to send Arms, Ammunition, and Victuals, without paying Customs; under which Pretence they will engross the whole Trade of those Towns, exclusive of all other Nations.

THIS Prince *Eugene* likewise foresaw; and, in his Observations upon this Treaty, here annexed, proposed a Remedy for it.

AND if the *Dutch* shall please to think, that the whole *Spanish Netherlands* are not a sufficient *Barrier* for them, I know no Remedy from the Words of this

this Treaty, but that we must still go on, and conquer for them as long as they please. For the QUEEN is obliged, whenever a Peace is treated, to procure for them *whatever shall be thought necessary* besides; and where their Necessity will terminate, is not very easy to foresee.

COULD any of Her Majesty's Subjects conceive, that, in the Towns we have taken for the *Dutch*, and given into their Possession as a *Barrier*, either the *States* should demand, or our *Ministers* allow, that the Subjects of *Britain* should, in respect to their Trade, be used worse in those very Towns, than they were under the late King of *Spain*? Yet this is the Fact, as monstrous as it appears: All Goods going to or coming from *Newport* or *Ostend*, are to pay the same Duties as those that pass by the *Scheld* under the *Dutch* Forts: And this, in effect, is to shut out all other Nations from trading to *Flanders*. The *English* Merchants at *Bruges* complain, That, after they have paid the King of *Spain's* Duty for Goods imported at *Ostend*, the same Goods are made liable to further Duties, when they are carried from thence into the Towns of the *Dutch* new Conquests; and desire only the same Privileges of Trade they had before the Death of the late King of *Spain*, *Charles II.* And, in Consequence of this Treaty, the *Dutch* have already taken off Eight per Cent. from all Goods they send to the *Spanish Flanders*, but left it still upon us.

BUT, what is very surprizing, in the very same Article where our good Friends and Allies are wholly shutting us out from trading in those Towns we have conquered for them, with so much Blood and Treasure; the QUEEN is obliged to procure, that the *States* shall be used as favourably in their Trade over all

all the King of *Spain's* Dominions, as her own Subjects, or as the *People most favoured*. This I humbly conceive to be perfect Boys Play ; *Gross I win, and Pile you lose* ; or, *What's yours is mine, and what's mine is my own*. Now if it should happen, that, in a Treaty of Peace, some Ports or Towns should be yielded us, for the Security of our Trade, in any Part of the *Spanish* Dominions, at how great a Distance soever ; I suppose the *Dutch* would go on with their Boys Play, and *challenge Half*, by Virtue of that Article ; or, would they be content with the Military Government and the Revenues, and reckon them among *what shall be thought necessary* for their Barrier ?

THIS prodigious Article is introduced as subsequent to the Treaty of *Munster*, made about the Year 1648, at a Time when *England* was in the utmost Confusion, and very much to our Disadvantage. Those Parts in that Treaty, so unjust in themselves, and so prejudicial to our Trade, ought, in Reason, to have been remitted, rather than confirmed upon us for the Time to come. But this is *Dutch* Partnership, to share in all our *beneficial* Bargains, and exclude us wholly from theirs, even from those which we have got for them.

IN one Part of *The Conduct of the Allies, &c.* among other Remarks upon this Treaty, I make it a Question, whether it were right, in Point of Policy or Prudence, to call in a foreign Power to be a Guarantee to our Succession ; because, by that Means, *we put it out of the Power of our Legislature to alter the Succession, how much soever the Necessity of the Kingdom may require it* ? To comply with the Cautions of some People, I explained my Meaning in the following Editions. I was assured, that my

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L—d C—f J——e affirmed, that Passage was Treason. One of my Answerers, I think, decides as favourably; and, I am told, that Paragraph was read very lately during a Debate, with a Comment in very injurious Terms, which, perhaps, might have been spared. That the Legislature should have Power to change the Succession, whenever the Necessities of the Kingdom require, is so very useful towards preserving our Religion and Liberty, that I know not how to recant. The worst of this Opinion is, that, at first Sight, it appears to be *Whiggish*; but the Distinction is thus: The *Whigs* are for changing the Succession when they think fit, although the entire Legislature do not consent; I think it ought never to be done but upon great Necessity, and that with the Sanction of the whole Legislature. Do these Gentlemen of Revolution Principles think it impossible, that we should ever have Occasion again to change our Succession? And, if such an Accident should fall out, must we have no Remedy, until the Seven Provinces will give their Consent? Suppose that this virulent Party among us were as able, as some are willing, to raise a Rebellion for re-instating them in Power, and would apply themselves to the *Dutch*, as Guarantees of our Succession, to assist them with all their Force, under Pretence that the *QUEEN* and Ministry, a great Majority of both Houses, and the Bulk of the People, were for bringing over *France*, Popery, and the Pretender? Their *High Mightinesses* would, as I take it, be sole Judges of the Controversy, and probably decide it so well, that, in some Time, we might have the Happiness of becoming a Province to *Holland*. I am humbly of Opinion, that there are two Qualities necessary to a Reader, before his Judgment should be allowed; these

these are, common Honesty, and common Sense: and that no Man could have misrepresented that Paragraph in my Discourse, unless he were utterly destitute of one, or both.

THE presumptive Successor, and her immediate Heirs, have so established a Reputation in the World, for their Piety, Wisdom, and Humanity, that no Necessity, of this kind, is like to appear in their Days; but I must still insist, that it is a Diminution to the Independency of the Imperial Crown of *Great Britain*, to call at every Door for Help to put our Laws in Execution. And we ought to consider, that if, in Ages to come, such a Prince should happen to be in Succession to our Throne, who should be entirely unable to govern; that every Motive might incline our Guarantees to support him, the more effectually to bring the Rivals of their Trade into Confusion and Disorder.

BUT, to return: The QUEEN is here put under the unreasonable Obligation of being Guarantee of the whole Barrier Treaty; of the *Dutch* having Possession of the said Barrier, and the Revenues thereof, before a Peace; of the Payment of four hundred thousand Crowns by the King of *Spain*; that the States shall possess their Barrier, even before King *Charles* is in Possession of the *Spanish Netherlands*; although, by the fifth Article of the Grand Alliance, Her Majesty is under no Obligation to do any Thing of this Nature, except in a general Treaty.

ALL Kings, Princes, and States, are invited to enter into this Treaty, and to be Guarantees of its Execution. This Article, although very frequent in Treaties, seems to look very oddly in that of the Barrier. Popish Princes are here invited, among others,

others, to become Guarantees of our Protestant Succession; every petty Prince in *Germany* must be intreated to preserve the QUEEN of *Great Britain* upon her Throne. The King of *Spain* is invited particularly, and by Name, to become Guarantee of the Execution of a Treaty, by which his Allies, who pretend to fight his Battles, and recover his Dominions, strip him, in effect, of all his ten Provinces; a clear Reason why they never sent any Forces to *Spain*, and why the Obligation not to enter into a Treaty of Peace with *France*, until that entire Monarchy was yielded as a Preliminary, was struck out of the Counter-Project by the *Dutch*. They fought only in *Flanders*, because there they only fought for themselves. King *Charles* must needs accept this Invitation very kindly, and stand by with great Satisfaction, while the *Belgick* Lion divides the Prey, and assigns it all to himself. I remember there was a Parcel of Soldiers, who robbed a Farmer of his Poultry, and then made him wait at Table while they devoured his Victuals, without giving him a Morfel; and, upon his expostulating, had only for Answer, Why, Sirrah, are we not come here to protect you? And thus much for this generous Invitation to all Kings and Princes to lend their Assistance, and become Guarantees, out of pure Good-nature, for securing *Flanders*, to the *Dutch*.

IN the Treaty of *Ryswick* no Care was taken to oblige the *French* King to acknowledge the Right of Succession in Her present Majesty; for want of which Point being then settled, *France* refused to acknowledge her for QUEEN of *Great Britain* after the late King's Death. This unaccountable Neglect (if it were a Neglect) is here called an Omision, and Care is taken to supply it in the next general

neral Treaty of Peace. I mention this occasionally, because I have some stubborn Doubts within me, whether it were a wilful Omission or no. Neither do I herein reflect in the least upon the Memory of his late Majesty, whom I entirely acquit of any Imputation upon this Matter. But when I recollect the Behaviour, the Language, and the Principles of some certain Persons in those Days, and compare them with that Omission; I am tempted to draw some Conclusions, which a certain Party would be more ready to call false and malicious, than to prove them so.

I MUST here take leave (because it will not otherwise fall in my Way) to say a few Words in return to Gentleman, I know not of what Character or Calling, who hath done me the Honour to write three Discourses against that Treatise of *The Conduct of the Allies*, &c. and promises, for my Comfort, to conclude all in a fourth. I pity Answerers with all my Heart, for the many Disadvantages they lie under. My Book did a World of Mischief (as he calls it) before his first Part could possibly come out; and so went on through the Kingdom, while his limped slowly after; and, if it arrived at all, it was too late; for People's Opinions were already fixed. His manner of answering me is thus: Of those Facts which he pretends to examine, some he resolutely denies, others he endeavours to extenuate, and the rest he distorts with such unnatural Turns, that I would engage, by the same Method, to disprove any History, either ancient or modern. Then the whole is interlarded with a thousand injurious Epithets and Appellations, which heavy Writers are forced to make use of, as a Supply for that Want of Spirit and Genius they are not born to: Yet, after all, he
allows

allows a very great Point, for which I contend, confessing, in plain Words, that the Burthen of the War hath chiefly lain upon us; and thinks it sufficient for the *Dutch*, that, next to *England*, they have born the greatest Share. And is not this the great Grievance of which the whole Kingdom complains? I am inclined to think, that my Intelligence was at least as good as his; and some of it, I can assure him, came from Persons of his own Party, although perhaps not altogether so inflamed. Hitherto, therefore, the Matter is pretty equal, and the World may believe him or me as they please. But, I think, the great Point of Controversy between us, is, Whether the Effects and Consequences of Things follow better from his Premises or mine? And there I will not be satisfied, unless he will allow the whole Advantage to be on my Side. Here is a flourishing Kingdom brought to the Brink of Ruin, by a most successful and glorious War of ten Years, under an able, diligent, and loyal Ministry, a most faithful, just, and generous Commander, and in Conjunction with the most hearty, reasonable, and sincere Allies. This is the Case, as that Author represents it. I have heard a Story, I think it was of the Duke of ***, who, playing at Hazard at the *Groom-Porter's* in much Company, held in a great many Hands together, and drew a huge Heap of Gold: but, in the Heat of Play, never observed a Sharper, who came once or twice under his Arm, and swept a great deal of it into his Hat; the Company thought it had been one of his Servants. When the Duke's Hand was out, they were talking how much he had won. Yes, said he, I held in very long; yet methinks, I have won but very little. The told him,

his SERVANT had got the rest in his Hat ; and then he found he was cheated.

It hath been my good Fortune to see the most important Facts that I have advanced, justified by the publick Voice ; which, let this Author do what he can, will incline the World to believe, that I may be right in the rest. And I solemnly declare, that I have not wilfully committed the least Mistake. I stopt the second Edition, and made all possible Enquiries among those who, I thought, could best inform me, in order to correct any Error I could hear of ; I did the same to the third and fourth Editions, and then left the Printer to his Liberty. This I take for a more effectual Answer to all Cavils, than an hundred Pages of Controversy.

BUT what disgusts me from having any Thing to do with this Race of Answer-Jobbers, is, that they have no sort of Conscience in their Dealings. To give one Instance in this Gentleman's third Part, which I have been lately looking into : When I talk of the most petty Princes, he says, that I mean crown'd Heads ; when I say, the Soldiers of those petty Princes are ready to rob or starve at home, he says, I call Kings and crowned Heads Robbers and Highwaymen. This is what the *Whigs* call answering a Book.

I CANNOT omit one Particular concerning this Author, who is so positive in asserting his own Facts, and contradicting mine ; he affirms, that the Business of *Toulon* was discovered by the Clerk of a certain great Man, who was then Secretary of State. It is neither wise, nor for the Credit of his Party, to put us in Mind either of that Secretary, or of that Clerk ; however, so it happens, that nothing relating to the Affair of *Toulon* did ever pass through

that Secretary's Office: Which I here affirm with great Phlegm, leaving the Epithets of false, scandalous, villainous, and the rest, to the Author and his Fellows.

BUT to leave this Author; let us consider the Consequence of our Triumphs, upon which some set so great a Value as to think, that nothing less than the Crown can be a sufficient Reward for the Merit of the *General*. We have not enlarged our Dominions by one Foot of Land: Our Trade, which made us considerable in the World, is either given up by Treaties, or clogged with Duties, which interrupt and daily lessen it. We see the whole Nation groaning under excessive Taxes of all sorts; to raise three Millions of Money for Payment of the Interest of those Debts we have contracted. Let us look upon the Reverse of the Medal, we shall see our Neighbours, who, in their utmost Distress, called for our Assistance, become, by this Treaty, even in Time of Peace, Masters of a more considerable Country than their own; in a Condition to strike Terror into us with fifty thousand *Veterans* ready to invade us, from that Country which we have conquered for them: and to commit insolent Hostilities upon us, in all other Parts, as they have lately done in the *East-Indies*.

The BARRIER-TREATY between Her Majesty
and the STATES-GENERAL.

HER Majesty the QUEEN of Great Britain and
the Lords the States-General of the United
Provinces, having considered how much it concerns the
Quiet and Security of their Kingdoms and States, and

the publick Tranquillity, to maintain and to secure, on one Side, the Succession to the Crown of Great Britain in such Manner as it is now established by the Laws of the Kingdom; and, on the other Side, that the States-General of the United Provinces should have a strong and sufficient Barrier against France, and others, who would surprize or attack them: And Her Majesty and the said States-General apprehending, with just Reason, the Troubles and the Mischiefs which may happen in relation to this Succession, if at any Time there should be any Person, or any Power, who should call it in Question; and that the Countries and States of the said Lords the States-General were not furnished with such a Barrier. For these said Reasons, Her said Majesty the QUEEN of Great Britain, although in the Vigour of her Age, and enjoying perfect Health (which may GOD preserve her in many Years) out of an Effect of her usual Prudence and Piety, has thought fit to enter with the Lords the States-General of the United Provinces into a particular Alliance and Confederacy; the principal End, and only Aim of which shall be the publick Quiet and Tranquillity; and to prevent, by Measures taken in Time, all the Events which might one Day excite new War. It is with this View, that Her British Majesty has given her full Power to agree upon some Articles of a Treaty, in Addition to the Treaties and Alliances that she hath already with the Lords the States-General of the United Provinces, to her Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Charles Viscount Townshend, Baron of Lynn Regis, Privy-Counsellor to Her British Majesty, Captain of her said Majesty's Yeomen of the Guard, and her Lieutenant in the County of Norfolk; And the Lords the States-General of the United Provinces, the Sieurs
John

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John de Welderen Lord of Valburgh, Great Bailiff of the Lower Betewe, of the Body of the Nobility of the Province of Guelder; Frederick Baron of Reede Lord of Lier, St. Anthony, and T'er Lee, of the Order of the Nobility of the Province of Holland and West-Friezeland; Anthony Heinsius, Counsellor-Pensionary of the Province of Holland and West-Friezeland, Keeper of the Great-Seal, and Super-Intendant of the Fiefs of the same Province; Cornelius Van Gheet, Lord of Spranbroek, Bulkesteyne, &c. Gedeon Hoeuft, Canon of the Chapter of the Church of St. Peter at Utrecht, and elected Counsellor in the States of the Province of Utrecht; Hassel Van Smينيا, Secretary of the Chamber of the Accounts of the Province of Friezeland; Ernest Ittersum, Lord of Osterbof, of the Body of the Nobility of the Province of Overijssel; and Wicher Wichers, Senator of the City of Groningen; all Deputies to the Assembly of the said Lords the States-General on the one Part, respectively of the Provinces of Guelder, Holland, West-Friezeland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Friezeland, Overijssel, and Groningen and Ommelands, who, by Virtue of their full Powers, are agreed upon the following Articles:

ARTICLE I.

THE Treaties of Peace, Friendship, Alliance, and Confederacy between Her Britannick Majesty and the States-General of the United Provinces, shall be approved and confirmed by the present Treaty, and shall remain in their former Force and Vigour, as if they were inserted Word for Word.

ARTICLE II.

THE Succession to the Crown of *England* having been settled by an Act of Parliament, passed the twelfth Year of the Reign of his late Majesty King *William III.* the Title of which is, *An Act for the further Limitations of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject*; and lately, in the sixth Year of the Reign of Her present Majesty, this Succession having been again established and confirmed by another Act made for the greater Security of Her Majesty's Person and Government, and the Succession to the Crown of *Great Britain*, &c. in the Line of the most Serene House of *Hanover*, and in the Person of the Princess *Sophia*, and of her Heirs, Successors, and Descendants, Male and Female, already born, or to be born. And although no Power hath any Right to oppose the Laws made upon this Subject, by the Crown and Parliament of *Great Britain*; if it shall happen, nevertheless, that under any Pretence, or by any Cause whatever, any Person, or any Power or State, may pretend to dispute the Establishment, which the Parliament hath made of the aforesaid Succession in the most Serene House of *Hanover*, to oppose the said Succession, to assist or favour those who may oppose it, whether directly or indirectly, by open War, or by fomenting Seditions and Conspiracies against her, or him, to whom the Crown of *Great Britain* shall descend, according to the Acts aforesaid; the *States-General* engage, and promise to assist and maintain, in the said Succession, her, or him, to whom it shall belong, by Virtue of the said Acts of Parliament, to assist them in taking Possession, if they should not be in actual Possession, and to oppose those who would disturb them

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them in the taking such Possession, or in the actual Possession of the aforesaid Succession.

ARTICLE III.

HER said Majesty and the *States-General*, in Consequence of the fifth Article of the Alliance concluded between the *Emperor*, the late King of *Great Britain*, and the *States-General*, the seventh of September 1701, will employ all their Force to recover the rest of the *Spanish Low-Countries*.

ARTICLE IV.

AND further, they will endeavour to conquer as many Towns and Forts as they can, in order to their being a Barrier and Security to the said *States*.

ARTICLE V.

AND whereas, according to the ninth Article of the said Alliance, it is to be agreed, amongst other Matters, how, and in what Manner the *States* shall be made safe by Means of this Barrier, the *QUEEN* of *Great Britain* will use her Endeavours to procure that, in the Treaty of Peace, it may be agreed, that all the *Spanish Low Countries*, and what else may be found necessary, whether conquered or unconquered Places, shall serve as a Barrier to the *States*.

ARTICLE VI.

THAT to this End their High Mightinesses shall have the Liberty to put and keep Garrison, to change, augment, and diminish it as they shall judge proper, in the Places following: Namely, *Newport*, *Furnes*, with the Fort of *Knocke*, *Ypres*, *Menin*, the Town and Citadel of *Lille*, *Tournay*, and its Citadel, *Coude*, *Valenciennes*; and the Places which shall from

henceforward be conquered from *France, Maubeuge, Charleroy, Namur* and its Citadel, *Lire, Halle* to fortify, the Ports of *Perle, Philippe, Damme*, the Castle of *Gand*, and *Dendermonde*. The Fort of *St. Donas* being joined to the Fortification of the *Sluce*, and being entirely incorporated with it, shall remain, and be yielded in Property to the *States*. The Fort of *Rodenhusen*, on this Side *Gand*, shall be demolished.

ARTICLE VII.

THE said *States-General* may, in Case of an apparent Attack, or War, put as many Troops as they shall think necessary in all the Towns, Places, and Forts in the *Spanish Low-Countries*, where the Reason of War shall require it.

ARTICLE VIII.

THEY may likewise send into the Towns, Forts, and Places, where they shall have their Garrisons, without any Hindrance, and without paying any Duties, Provisions, Ammunitions of War, Arms, and Artillery, Materials for the Fortifications, and all that shall be found convenient and necessary for the said Garrisons and Fortifications.

ARTICLE IX.

THE said *States-General* shall also have Liberty to appoint in the Towns, Forts, and Places of their Barrier, mentioned in the foregoing sixth Article, where they may have Garrisons, such Governors and Commanders, Majors, and other Officers, as they shall find proper, who shall not be subject to any other Orders, whatsoever they may be, or from whencesoever they may come, relating to the Security and
Military

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Military Government of the said Places, but only to those of their High Mightinesses (exclusive of all others;) still preserving the Rights and Privileges, as well Ecclesiastical as Political, of King *Charles the Third*.

ARTICLE X.

THAT, besides, the *States* shall have Liberty to fortify the said Towns, Places, and Forts, which belong to them, and repair the Fortifications of them, in such manner as they shall judge necessary; and further to do whatever shall be useful for their Defence.

ARTICLE XI.

It is agreed, that the *States-General* shall have all the Revenues of the Towns, Places, Jurisdictions, and their Dependences, which they shall have for their Barrier from *France*, which were not in the Possession of the Crown of *Spain* at the Time of the Death of the late King *Charles II.* and, besides, a Million of Livres shall be settled for the Payment of one hundred thousand Crowns every three Months, out of the clearest Revenues of the *Spanish Low-Countries*, which the said King was then in Possession of; both which are for maintaining the Garisons of the *States*, and for supplying the Fortifications, as also the Magazines, and other necessary Expences, in the Towns and Places above-mentioned. And that the said Revenues may be sufficient to support these Expences, Endeavours shall be used for enlarging the Dependences and Jurisdictions aforesaid, as much as possible; and, particularly, for including with the Jurisdiction of *Ypres*, that of *Cassel*, and the Forest of *Niepe*; and, with the Jurisdiction of *Lisse*, the Jurisdiction

jurisdiction of *Douay*, both having been so joined before the present War.

ARTICLE XII.

THAT no Town, Fort, Place, or Country of the *Spanish Low-Countries*, shall be granted, transferred, or given, or descend to the Crown of *France*, or any of the Line of *France*, neither by Virtue of any Gift, Sale, Exchange, Marriage, Agreement, Inheritance, Succession by Will, or through Want of Will, from no Title whatsoever, nor in any other Manner whatever, nor be put into the Power, or under the Authority of the most Christian King, or any one of the Line of *France*.

ARTICLE XIII.

AND whereas the said *States-General*, in Consequence of the ninth Article of the said Alliance, are to make a Convention or Treaty with King *Charles the Third*, for putting the *States* in a Condition of Safety by Means of the said Barrier, the QUEEN of *Great Britain* will do what depends upon her, that all the foregoing Particulars, relating to the Barrier of the *States*, may be inserted in the aforesaid Treaty or Convention; and that Her said Majesty will continue her good Offices, until the above-mentioned Convention between the *States* and the said King *Charles the Third* be concluded, agreeably to what is before-mentioned; and that Her Majesty will be Guarantee of the said Treaty or Convention.

ARTICLE XIV.

AND that the said *States* may enjoy from henceforward, as much as possible, a Barrier for the *Spanish*

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ish Low-Countries, they shall be permitted to put their Garrisons in the Towns already taken, and which may hereafter be so, before the Peace be concluded and ratified: And, in the mean time, the said King *Charles III.* shall not be allowed to enter into Possession of the said *Spanish Low-Countries*, neither entirely, nor in Part: And during that Time, the QUEEN shall assist their High Mightinesses to maintain them in the Enjoyment of the Revenues and to find the Million of Livres a Year above-mentioned.

ARTICLE XV.

AND whereas their High Mightinesses have stipulated by the Treaty of *Munster*, in the fourteenth Article, That the River *Scheld*, as also the Canals of *Sas*, *Swan*, and other Mouths of the Sea bordering thereupon, should be kept shut on the Side of the *States*:

AND, in the fifteenth Article, That the Ships and Commodities going in and coming out of the Harbours of *Flanders*, shall be, and remain charged with all such Imposts, and other Duties, as are raised upon Commodities going and coming along the *Scheld*, and the other Canals above-mentioned:

THE QUEEN of *Great Britain* promises and engages, That their High Mightinesses shall never be disturbed in their Right and Possession, in that respect, neither directly nor indirectly; as also that the Commerce shall not, in prejudice of the said Treaty, be made more easy by the Sea-ports than by the Rivers, Canals, and Mouths of the Sea, on the Side of the *States* of the United Provinces, neither directly nor indirectly.

AND

AND whereas, by the sixteenth and seventeenth Articles of the same Treaty of *Munster*, his Majesty the King of *Spain* is obliged to treat the Subjects of their High Mightinesses as favourably as the Subjects of *Great Britain*, and the *Hans Towns*, who were then the People most favourably treated; Her *Britannick* Majesty and their High Mightinesses promise likewise to take Care that the Subjects of *Great Britain*, and of their High Mightinesses, shall be treated in the *Spanish Low-Countries*, as well as in *Spain*, the Kingdoms and States belonging to it, equally, and as well the one as the other, as the People most favoured.

ARTICLE XVI.

THE said QUEEN and *States-General* oblige themselves to furnish, by Sea and Land, the Succours and Assistance necessary to maintain, by Force, Her said Majesty in the quiet Possession of her Kingdoms; and the most Serene House of *Hanover* in the said Succession, in the manner it is settled by the Acts of Parliament before-mentioned; and to maintain the said *States-General* in the Possession of the said Barrier.

ARTICLE XVII.

AFTER the Ratifications of the Treaty, a particular Convention shall be made of the Conditions by which the said QUEEN, and the said Lords the *States-General*, will engage themselves to furnish the Succours which shall be thought necessary, as well by Sea as Land.

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ARTICLE XVIII.

IF Her *British* Majesty, or the *States-General* of the United Provinces, be attacked by any Body whatsoever, by Reason of this Convention, they shall mutually assist one another with all their Forces, and become Guarantees of the Execution of the said Convention.

ARTICLE XIX.

THERE shall be invited and admitted into the present Treaty, as soon as possible, all the Kings, Princes, and States, who shall be willing to enter into the same, particularly his *Imperial* Majesty, the Kings of *Spain* and *Prussia*, and the Elector of *Hanover*. And Her *British* Majesty, and the *States-General* of the United Provinces, and each of them in particular, shall be permitted to require and invite those whom they shall think fit to require and invite, to enter into this Treaty, and to be Guarantees of its Execution.

ARTICLE XX.

AND as Time hath shewn the Omission which was made in the Treaty signed at *Ryswick*, in the Year 1697, between *England* and *France*, in respect of the Right of the Succession of *England*, in the Person of Her Majesty the QUEEN of Great Britain, now reigning; and that, for Want of having settled in that Treaty this indisputable Right of Her Majesty; *France* refused to acknowledge her for QUEEN of Great Britain after the Death of the late King *William III.* of glorious Memory: Her Majesty the QUEEN of Great Britain, and the Lords the *States-General* of the United Provinces, do agree

agree, and engage themselves likewise, not to enter into any Negotiation, or Treaty of Peace with *France*, before the Title of her Majesty to the Crown of *Great Britain*, as also the Right of Succession of the most Serene House of *Hanover* to the aforesaid Crown, in the manner it is settled and established by the before-mentioned Acts of Parliament, be fully acknowledged as a Preliminary by *France*, and that *France* hath promised at the same Time to remove out of its Dominions the Person who pretends to be King of *Great Britain*; and that no Negotiation, or formal Discussion of the Articles of the said Treaty of Peace shall be entered into, but jointly, and at the same Time with the said QUEEN, or with her Ministers.

ARTICLE XXI.

HER *British* Majesty, and the Lords the *States-General* of the United Provinces, shall ratify and confirm all that is contained in the present Treaty; within the space of four Weeks, to be reckoned from the Day of the Signing. In Testimony whereof the underwritten Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Her *British* Majesty, and the Députés of the Lords the *States-General* have signed this present Treaty, and have affixed their Seals thereunto.

At the Hague the 29th of Oct. in the Year 1709.

(L.S.) Townshend.

(L.S.) J. B. Van Reede.

(L.S.) G. Hoefst.

(L.S.) E. V. Ittersum.

(L.S.) J. V. Welderen.

(L.S.) A. Heinsius.

(L.S.) H. Sminia.

(L.S.) W. Wichers.

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The Separate ARTICLE.

AS in the Preliminary Articles signed here at the Hague the 28th of May 1709, by the Plenipotentiaries of his Imperial Majesty, of her Majesty the QUEEN of Great Britain, and of the Lords the States-General of the United Provinces, it is stipulated, amongst other Things, that the Lords the States-General shall have, with entire Property and Sovereignty, the Upper Quarter of Guelder, according to the fifty second Article of the Treaty of Munster, of the Year 1648; as also, that the Garisons which are, or hereafter shall be, on the Part of the Lords the States-General in the Town of Huy, the Citadel of Liege, and in the Town of Bonne, shall remain there, until it shall be otherwise agreed upon with his Imperial Majesty and the Empire. And as the Barrier, which is this Day agreed upon in the principal Treaty, for the mutual Guarantee between Her British Majesty and the Lords the States-General, cannot give to the United Provinces the Safety for which it is established, unless it be well secured from one End to the other, and that the Communication of it be well joined together; for which the Upper Quarter of Guelder, and the Garisons in the Citadel of Liege, Huy, and Bonne, are absolutely necessary: Experience having thrice shewn, that France having a Design to attack the United Provinces, has made use of the Places above-mentioned, in order to come at them, and to penetrate into the said Provinces. That further, in respect to the Equivalent for which the Upper Quarter of Guelder is to be yielded to the United Provinces according to the fifty second Article of the Treaty of Munster above-mentioned, his Majesty King Charles III. will be much more gratified and advantaged

vantaged in other Places, than that Equivalent can avail. So that to the End the Lords the States-General may have the Upper Quarter of Guelder, with entire Property and Sovereignty; and that the said Upper Quarter of Guelder may be yielded in this Manner to the said Lords the States-General, in the Convention, or the Treaty that they are to make with his Majesty King Charles III. according to the thirteenth Article of the Treaty concluded this Day; as also that their Garisons in the Citadel of Liege, in that of Huy, and in Bonne, may remain there, until it be otherwise agreed upon with his Imperial Majesty and the Empire; Her Majesty the QUEEN of Great Britain engages Herself; and promises by this separate Article, which shall have the same Force as if it were inserted in the principal Treaty, to make the same Efforts for all this, as she hath engaged herself to make for the obtaining the Barrier in the Spanish Low-Countries. In Testimony whereof the under-written Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of her British Majesty, and Deputies of the Lords the States-General, have signed the present separate Article, and have affixed their Seals thereunto.

At the Hague the 29th of October 1709.

(L. S.) Townshend.

(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.

(L. S.) G. Hoeuft.

(L. S.) E. V. Ittersum.

(L. S.) J. V. Welderen.

(L. S.) A. Heinsius.

(L. S.) H. Sminia.

(L. S.) W. Wichers.

The

The second Separate ARTICLE.

AS the Lords the States-General have represented, That, in Flanders, the Limits between Spanish Flanders and that of the States, are settled in such a Manner; as that the Land belonging to the States is extremely narrow there; so that in some Places the Territory of Spanish Flanders extends itself to the Fortifications, and under the Cannon of the Places, Towns, and Forts of the States, which occasions many Inconveniencies, as hath been seen by an Example a little before the Beginning of the present War, when a Fort was designed to have been built under the Cannon of the Sas Van Gand, under Pretence, that it was upon the Territory of Spain: And as it is necessary, for avoiding these, and other Sorts of Inconveniencies, that the Land of the States, upon the Confines of Flanders, should be enlarged, and that the Places, Towns, and Forts should, by that Means, be better covered: Her British Majesty, entering into the just Motives of the said Lords the States-General in this Respect, promises and engages herself by this separate Article, That, in the Convention which the said Lords the States-General are to make with his Majesty King Charles the Third, she will assist them, as that it may be agreed, That, by the Cession to the said Lords the States-General, of the Property of an Extent of Land necessary to obviate such like, and other Inconveniencies, their Limits in Flanders shall be enlarged more conveniently for their Security; and those of the Spanish Flanders removed farther from their Towns, Places, and Forts, to the End that these may not be so exposed any more. In Testimony whereof the Underwritten Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary

of her British Majesty, and Deputies of the Lords the States-General, have signed the present separate Article, and have affixed their Seals thereunto.

At the Hague the 29th of October 1709.

(L. S.) Townshend.

(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.

(L. S.) A. Heinfius.

(L. S.) G. Hoeuft.

(L. S.) H. Sminia.

(L. S.) E. V. Ittersum.

The Articles of the COUNTER-PROJECT, which were struck out, or altered by the Dutch in the BARRIER-TREATY; with some REMARKS.

ARTICLE VI.

TO this End their High Mightinesses shall have Power to put and keep Garisons in the following Places, *viz.* *Newport, Knocke, Menin, the Citadel of Lisle, Tournay, Conde, Valenciennes, Namur, and its Citadel, Lire, Halle* to fortify, the Forts of *Perle, Damme, and the Castle of Gand.*

REMARKS.

IN the Barrier Treaty the States added the following Places to those mentioned in this Article, *viz.* *Furnes, Ypres, Towns of Lisle, Maubeuge, Charleroy, Philippe, Fort of St. Donas* (which is to be in Property to the States) and the Fort of *Rodenhuysen* to be demolished. To say nothing of the other Places,

Dender-

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Dendermonde is the Key of all *Brabant*; and the demolishing of the Fort of *Rhodenbuisen*, situate between *Gand* and *Sas van Gand* can only serve to defraud the King of *Spain* of the Duties upon Goods imported and exported there.

ARTICLE VII.

THE said *States* may put into the said Towns, Forts, and Places, and, in case of open War with *France*, into all the other Towns, Places, and Forts, whatever Troops the Reason of War shall require.

REMARKS.

BUT in the Barrier Treaty it is said: *In Case of an apparent Attack, or War*, without specifying against *France*: Neither is the Number of Troops limited to what the Reason of War shall require, but what the *States* shall think necessary.

ARTICLE IX.

BESIDES some smaller Differences, ends with a Salvo, not only for the Ecclesiastical and Civil Right of the King of *Spain*, but likewise for his Revenues in the said Towns; which Revenues, in the Barrier Treaty, are all given to the *States*.

ARTICLE XI.

THE Revenues of the Chatellanies and Dependencies of the Towns and Places, which the *States* shall have for their Barrier against *France*, and which were not in the Possession of the Crown of *Spain* at the late King of *Spain's* Death, shall be

settled to be a Fund for maintaining Garisons, and providing for the Fortifications, and Magazines, and other necessary Charges of the said Towns of the Barrier.

REMARKS.

I DESIRE the Reader to compare this with the eleventh Article of the Barrier Treaty, where he will see how prodigiously it is enlarged.

ARTICLE XIV.

ALL this to be without Prejudice to such other Treaties and Conventions as the QUEEN of Great Britain, and their High Mightinesses, may think fit to make for the future with the said King Charles the Third, relating to the said Spanish Netherlands, or to the said Barrier.

ARTICLE XV.

AND to the end the said States may enjoy, at present, as much as it is possible, a Barrier in the Spanish Netherlands, they shall be permitted to put their Garisons in the chief Towns already taken, or that may be taken, before a Peace be made.

REMARKS.

THESE two Articles are not in the Barrier Treaty, but two others in their stead; to which I refer the Reader. And indeed it was highly necessary for the Dutch to strike out the former of these Articles, when so great a Part of the Treaty is so highly and manifestly prejudicial to Great Britain, as well

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well as to the King of *Spain*; especially in the two Articles inserted in the Place of these, which I desire the Reader will examine.

ARTICLE XX.

AND whereas by the fifth and ninth Articles of the Alliance between the *Emperor*, the late King of *Great Britain*, and the *States General*, concluded the seventh of *September* 1701, it is agreed and stipulated, that the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, with all the Dependencies of the Crown of *Spain* in *Italy*, shall be recovered from the Possession of *France*, as being of the last Consequence to the Trade of both Nations; as well as the *Spanish Netherlands*, for a Barrier for the *States-General*; therefore the said QUEEN of *Great Britain* and the *States-General* agree and oblige themselves, not to enter into any Negotiation or Treaty of Peace with *France*, before the Restitution of the said Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, with all the Dependencies of the Crown of *Spain* in *Italy*, as well as the *Spanish Low-Countries*, with the other Towns and Places in the Possession of *France*, above-mentioned in this Treaty; and also after the Manner specified in this Treaty; as likewise all the rest of the entire Monarchy of *Spain* be yielded by *France* as a Preliminary.

ARTICLE XXII.

AND whereas Experience hath shewn of what Importance it is to *Great Britain* and the *United Provinces*, that the Fortress and Port of *Dunkirk* should not be in the Possession of *France*, in the Condition they are at present; the Subjects of

both Nations having undergone such great Losses and suffered so much in their Trade, by the Prizes taken from them by Privateers set out from that Port; insomuch that *France*, by her unmeasurable Ambition, may be always tempted to make some Enterprizes upon the Territories of the QUEEN of *Great Britain* and their High Mightinesses, and interrupt the publick Repose and Tranquillity; for the Preservation of which, and the Balance of *Europe* against the exorbitant Power of *France*, the Allies engaged themselves in this long and burthenfome War; therefore the said QUEEN of *Great Britain*, and their High Mightinesses agree and oblige themselves, not to enter into any Negotiation, or Treaty of Peace, with *France*, before it shall be yielded and stipulated by *France*, as a Preliminary, that all the Fortifications of the said Town of *Dunkirk*, and the Forts that depend upon it, be entirely demolished and razed, and that the Port be entirely ruined, and rendered impracticable.

REMARKS.

THESE two Articles are likewise omitted in the Barrier Treaty; whereof the first regards particularly the Interests of the House of *Austria*; and the other, about demolishing *Dunkirk*, those of *Great Britain*. It is something strange, that the late Ministry, whose Advocates raise such a Clamour about the Necessity of recovering *Spain* from the House of *Bourbon*; should suffer the *Dutch* to strike out this Article, which, I think, clearly shews the Reason why the *States* never troubled themselves with the Thoughts of reducing *Spain*, or even recovering *Milan*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*, to the *Emperor*; but were wholly fixed upon the Conquest of *Flanders*, because they had

had determined those Provinces as a Property for themselves.

As for the Article about demolishing of *Dunkirk*, I am not at all surprized to find it struck out; the Destruction of that Place, although it would be useful to the *States*, doth more nearly import *Britain*, and was therefore a Point that such Ministers could more easily get over.

The Sentiments of Prince EUGENE of Savoy, and of the Count DE SINZENDORF, relating to the Barrier of the States-General, to the Upper Quarter of Guelder, and to the Towns of the Electorate of Cologne, and of the Bishoprick of Liege.

ALTHOUGH the Orders and Instructions of the Courts of *Vienna* and *Barcelona*, upon the Matters abovementioned, do not go so far as to give Directions for what follows; notwithstanding, the PRINCE and COUNT above-mentioned, considering the present State of Affairs, are of the following Opinion:

FIRST, that the Counter-Project of *England*, relating to the Places where the *States-General* may put and keep Garisons, ought to be followed, except *Lier*, *Halle* to fortify, and the Castle of *Gand*. Provided likewise, that the Sentiments of *England* be particularly conformed to, relating to *Dendermond* and *Ostend*, as Places in no wise belonging to the Barrier; and which, as well as the Castle of *Gand*, can only serve to make the *States-General* Masters of the *Low-Countries*, and hinder Trade with *England*. And as to *Lier* and *Halle*, those who are acquaint-

ed with the Country, know, that those Towns can not give any Security to the *States-General*; but can only make People believe, that these Places, being fortified, would rather serve to block up *Brussels*, and the other great Cities of *Brabant*.

SECONDLY, As to what is said in the seventh Article of the Counter-Project of *England*, relating to the Augmentation of Garisons in the Towns of the Barrier, in case of an open War; this is agreeable to the Opinions of the said *Prince* and *Count*; who think likewise, that there ought to be added to the eighth Article, That no Goods or Merchandise should be sent into the Towns where the *States-General* shall have Garisons, nor be comprehended under the Names of such Things, as the said Garisons and Fortifications shall have need of. And that to this End the said Things shall be inspected in those Places where they are to pass; as likewise the Quantity shall be settled that the Garisons may want.

THIRDLY, As to the ninth Article, relating to the Governors and Commanders of, those Towns, Forts, and Places, where the *States-General* shall have their Garisons; the said *Prince* and *Count* are of Opinion, that the said Governors and Commanders ought to take an Oath, as well to the King of *Spain*, as to the *States-General*: But they may take a particular Oath to the latter, That they will not admit foreign Troops without their Consent; and that they will depend exclusively upon the said *States*, in whatever regards the Military Power. But, at the same Time, they ought exclusively to promise the King of *Spain*, That they will not intermeddle in the Affairs of Law, Civil Power, Revenues, or any other Matters, Ecclesiastical or Civil, unless at the Desire

Desire of the King's Officers to assist them in the Execution; in which Case the said Commanders should be obliged not to refuse them.

FOURTHLY, As to the tenth Article, there is nothing to be added, unless that the *States-General* may repair and encrease the Fortifications of the Towns, Places, and Forts, where they shall have their Garisons; but this at their own Expence. Otherwise, under that Pretext, they might seize all the Revenues of the Country.

FIFTHLY, As to the eleventh Article, they think the *States* ought not to have the Revenues of the Chatellanies and Dependencies of these Towns and Places which are to be their Barrier against *France*; this being a Sort of Sovereignty, and very prejudicial to the Ecclesiastical and Civil Oeconomy of the Country. But the said *Prince* and *Count* are of Opinion, that the *States-General* ought to have, for the Maintenance of their Garisons and Fortifications, a Sum of Money of a Million and a half, or two Millions of Florins, which they ought to receive from the King's Officers, who shall be ordered to pay that Sum before any other Payment.

SIXTHLY, And the Convention which shall be made on this Affair, between his *Catholick* Majesty and the *States-General*, shall be for a limited Time.

THESE are the utmost Conditions to which the said *Prince* and *Count* think it possible for his *Catholick* Majesty to be brought; and they declare, at the same Time, that their *Imperial* and *Catholick* Majesties will sooner abandon the *Low-Countries*, than take them upon other Conditions, which would be equally expensive, shameful, and unacceptable to them.

ON

ON the other Side, the said *Prince* and *Count* are persuaded, that the Advantages, at this Time yielded to the *States-General*, may hereafter be very prejudicial to themselves; forasmuch as they may put the People of the *Spanish Netherlands* to some dangerous Extremity, considering the Antipathy between the two Nations; and that extending of Frontiers is entirely contrary to the Maxims of their Government.

As to the upper Quarter of *Guelder*, the said *Prince* and *Count* are of Opinion, that the *States-General* may be allowed the Power of putting in Garisons into *Venlo*, *Ruremond*, and *Steffenswaert*, with Orders to furnish the said *States* with the Revenues of the Country, which amount to one hundred thousand Florins.

As to *Bonn*, belonging to the Electorate of *Cologn*, *Liege* and *Huy* to the Bishoprick of *Liege*, it is to be understood, that these being *Imperial Towns*, it doth not depend upon the *Emperor* to consent, that foreign Garisons should be placed in them upon any Pretence whatsoever. But whereas the *States-General* demand them only for their Security, it is proposed to place in those Towns a Garison of *Imperial Troops*, of whom the *States* may be in no Suspicion, as they might be of a Garison of an Elector, who might possibly have Views opposite to their Interests. But this is proposed only in case that it shall not be thought more proper to raze one or other of the said Towns.

*The Representation of the English Merchants at
Bruges, relating to the Barrier-Treaty.*

DAVID WHITE, and other Merchants, Her Majesty's Subjects, residing at Bruges and other Towns in Flanders, crave Leave humbly to represent;

THAT whereas the Cities of *Lisls*, *Tournay*, *Menin*, *Douay*, and other new Conquests in *Flanders* and *Artois*, taken from the *French* this War, by the united Forces of Her Majesty, and her Allies, are now become entirely under the Government of the *States-General*; and that we, Her Majesty's Subjects, may be made liable to such Duties and Impositions on Trade, as the said *States-General* shall think fit to impose on us: We humbly hope and conceive, that it is Her Majesty's Intention and Design, that the Trade of her Dominions and Subjects, which is carried on with these new Conquests, may be on an equal Foot with that of the Subjects and Dominions of the *States-General*, and not be liable to any new Duty, when transported from the *Spanish Netherlands* to the said new Conquests; as, to our great Surprize, is exacted from us on the following Goods, *viz.* Butter, Tallow, Salmon, Hides, Beef, and all other Product of Her Majesty's Dominions, which we import at *Ostend*, and there pay the Duty of Entry to the King of *Spain*, and consequently ought not to be liable to any new Duty, when they carry the same Goods, and all others from their Dominions, by a free Pass or *Transfre*, to the said new Conquests: And we are under Apprehension, that if the said new Conquests be settled,

or given entirely into the Possession of the *States-General* for the Barrier (as we are made believe by a Treaty lately made by Her Majesty's Ambassador, the Lord Viscount *Townshend*, at the *Hague*) that the said *States-General* may also soon declare all Goods and Merchandises, which are contraband in their Provinces, to be also contraband, or prohibited in these new Conquests, or new Barrier, by which Her Majesty's Subjects will be deprived of the Sale and Consumption of the following Products of Her Majesty's Dominions, which are, and have long been, declared contraband in the United Provinces, such as *English* and *Scots* Salt, Malt Spirits, or Corn Brandy, and all other Sorts of distilled *English* Spirits; Whale and Rape Oil, &c.

It is therefore humbly conceived, that Her Majesty, out of her great Care and gracious Concern for the Benefit of her Subjects and Dominions, may be pleased to direct, by a Treaty of Commerce, or some other Way, that their Trade may be put on an equal Foot in all the *Spanish Netherlands*, and the new Conquests of Barrier, with the Subjects of *Holland*, by paying no other Duty than that of Importation to the King of *Spain*; and, by a Provision, that no Product of her Majesty's Dominions shall ever be declared contraband in these new Conquests, except such Goods as were esteemed contraband before the Death of *Charles II.* King of *Spain*. And it is also humbly prayed, that the Product and Manufacture of the new Conquests may be also exported without paying any new Duty, besides that of Exportation at *Ostend*, which was always paid to the King of *Spain*; it being impossible for any Nation in *Europe* to affort an entire Cargo for the *Spanish West-Indies*, without a considerable Quantity of several

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ral of the Manufactures of *Lille*; such as Caradoros, Cajant, Picofes, Boratten, and many other Goods.

THE chief Things to be demanded of *France*, are to be exempted from Tonnage, to have a Liberty of importing Herrings, and all other Fish, to *France*, on the same Terms as the *Dutch* do, and as was agreed by them at the Treaty of Commerce immediately after the Treaty of Peace at *Ryswick*. The enlarging Her Majesty's Plantations in *America*, &c. is naturally recommended.



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A
P R E F A C E

To the RIGHT REVEREND

Dr. *BURNET*, B——p of S——'s

I N T R O D U C T I O N

To the THIRD VOLUME of the

History of the Reformation

O F T H E

C H U R C H O F E N G L A N D .

*Spargere voces
In vulgum ambiguas, & quærere conscius arma.*

Written in the Year 1712.

~~PRELACE~~

To the Right Reverend

To the BOOKSELLER

INTRODUCTION

Mr. Morpew

YOUR CASE in putting an add-
 ress, in the Examination
 of the Holy Bible to me,
 I now send you my Preface to the
 B— of Samuel's Introduction to
 his third Volume, which I desire you
 to print in such a form as in the
 Bookeller's Preface will make a six-
 penny Toph; hoping it will give
 such a publick Notice of my Design
 that it may come into the Hands of
 those who perhaps look not into the
 B— of Introduction. I desire
 you will prefix to this a Passage out
 of Vol. VIII

To the BOOKSELLER.

Mr. Morpew,

YOUR Care in putting an *Advertisement* in the *Examiner* hath been of very great Use to me. I now send you my Preface to the *B——p* of Sarum's Introduction to his third Volume, which I desire you to print in such a Form, as, in the Bookseller's Phrase, will make a Six-penny Touch; hoping it will give such a publick Notice of my Design, that it may come into the Hands of those, who, perhaps, look not into the *B——p's* Introduction. I desire you will prefix to this a Passage out

VOL. VIII. N of

178 To the BOOKSELLER.

*of Virgil, which doth so perfectly agree
with my present Thoughts of his Lord-
ship, that I cannot express them bet-
ter, nor more truly, than those Words
do.*

I am

SIR,

Your humble Servant.

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P R E F A C E

To the RIGHT REVEREND

Dr. B—T, B—p of S—'s

INTRODUCTION, etc.

THIS Way of publishing Introductions to Books that are, GOD knows when, to come out, is either wholly new, or so long unpractised, that my small Reading cannot trace it. However, we are to suppose, that a Person of his Lordship's great Age and Experience would hardly act such a Piece of Singularity, without some extraordinary Motives. I cannot but observe, that his * Fellow Labourer, the Author of the Paper called *The Englishman*, seems, in some of his late Performances, to have almost transcribed the Notions of

* Mr. STEELE.

the B——p: These Notions I take to have been dictated by the same Masters, leaving to each Writer that peculiar Manner of expressing himself, which the Poverty of our Language forceth me to call their Style. When the *Guardian* changed his Title, and professed to engage in Faction, I was sure the Word was given; that grand Preparations were making against next Sessions; that all Advantages would be taken of the little Dissentions reported to be among those in Power; and that the *Guardian* would soon be seconded by some other Piquerers from the same Camp. But I will confess my Suspicions did not carry me so far as to conjecture, that this venerable Champion will be in such mighty Haste to come into the Field, and serve in the Quality of an *Enfant perdu*, armed only with a *Pocket-Pistol*, before his great *Blunderbuss* could be got ready, his old rusty *Breast-plate* scoured, and his cracked *Head-piece* mended.

I was debating with myself, whether this Hint of producing a small Pamphlet to give Notice of a large Folio, was not borrowed from the Ceremonial in *Spanish Romances*, where a *Dwarf* is sent out upon the Battlements, to signify to all Passengers, what a mighty *Giant* there is in the Castle: Or, whether the B——p copied this Proceeding from the *Fanfaronnade* of Monsieur *Bouffleurs*, when the Earl of *Portland* and that General had an Interview. Several Men were appointed, at certain Periods, to ride in great Haste towards the *English Camp*, and cry out, *Monseigneur vient, Monseigneur vient*: Then small Parties advanced with the same Speed, and the same Cry; and this Foppery held for many Hours, until the *Marschal* himself arrived. So here the B——p (as we find by his Dedication to Mr.

Churchill

Charchill the Bookseller) hath, for a long Time, sent Warning of his Arrival, by Advertisements in *Gazettes*; and now his *Introduction* advanceth to tell us again, *Monseigneur vient*: In the mean time we must gape, and wait, and gaze, the Lord knows how long, and keep our Spirits in some reasonable Agitation, until his Lordship's real self shall think fit to appear in the Habit of a Folio.

I HAVE seen the same sort of Management at a Puppet-Show. Some Puppets of little or no Consequence appeared several times at the Window to allure the Boys and the Rabble: The Trumpeter sounded often, and the Door-keeper cried an hundred times, until he was hoarse, that they were *just going to begin*; yet, after all, we were forced sometimes to wait an Hour before *Punch* himself in Person made his Entry.

BUT why this Ceremony among old Acquaintance? The World and he have long known one another: Let him appoint his Hour, and make his Visit, without troubling us all Day with a Succession of Messages from his Lacquies and Pages.

WITH Submission, these little Arts of getting off an Edition do ill become any Author above the Size of *Marten* the Surgeon. My L——d tells us, That many thousands of the two former Parts of his *History* are in the Kingdom; and now he perpetually advertiseth in the *Gazette*, that he intends to publish the Third. This is exactly in the Method and Style of *Marten*: The seventh Edition (many thousands of the former Editions having been sold off in a small Time) of Mr. *Marten's* Book concerning secret Diseases, &c.

DOTH his L——p intend to publish his great Volume by Subscription, and is this Introduction

only by way of Specimen? I was inclined to think so, because, in the prefixed Letter to Mr. Churchill, which introduces this Introduction, there are some dubious Expressions: He says, *The Advertisements be published were in order to move People to furnish him with Materials, which might help him to finish his Work with great Advantage.* If he means Half a Guinea upon the Subscription, and the other Half at the Delivery, why doth he not tell us so in plain Terms?

I AM wondering how it came to pass, that this diminutive Letter to Mr. Churchill should understand the Business of introducing better than the Introduction itself; or why the B—p did not take it into his Head to send the former into the World some Months before the latter, which would have been yet a greater Improvement upon the Solemnity of the Procession.

SINCE I writ these last Lines, I have perused the whole Pamphlet (which I had only dipt in before) and found I have been hunting upon a wrong Scent; for the Author hath, in several Parts of his Piece, discovered the true Motives, which put him upon sending it abroad at this Juncture; I shall therefore consider them as they come in my Way.

Mr Lord begins his *Introduction* with an Account of the Reasons, why he was guilty of so many Mistakes in the first Volume of his *History of the Reformation*: His Excuses are just, rational, and extremely consistent. He says, *He wrote in Haste*, which he confirms by adding, *That it lay a Year after he wrote it, before it was put into the Press.* At the same Time he mentions a Passage extremely to the Honour of that pious and excellent Prelate, Archbishop *Sancroft*, which demonstrates his Grace to have been a Person of great Sagacity, and almost a Prophet. Doctor B—t, then a private Divine, desired Admittance to the Cotton Library, but was
pre-

prevented* by the Archbishop, who told Sir John Cotton, that the said Doctor was no Friend to the Prerogative of the Crown, or to the Constitution of the Kingdom. This Judgment was the more extraordinary, because the Doctor had not long before published a Book in Scotland, with his Name prefixed, which carries the Regal Prerogative higher than any Writer of the Age: However, the good Archbishop lived to see his Opinion become universal in the Kingdom.

THE B——p goes on, for many Pages, with an Account of certain Facts relating to the publishing his two former Volumes of the *Reformation*; the great Success of that Work, and the Adversaries who appeared against it. These are Matters out of the Way of my Reading; only I observe that poor Mr. Henry Wharton, who hath deserved so well of

* It is somewhat remarkable to see the Progress of this Story. In the first Edition of this *Introduction*, it should seem, "he was PREVENTED by the Archbishop," &c. When the *Introduction* was reprinted, a Year after, with the *History*, it stands: "A GREAT PRELATE had been before-hand and possess'd him [Sir John Cotton] against me—That unless the Archbishop of Canterbury would recommend me—he desired to be excused—The Bishop of Worcester could not prevail on the Archbishop to INTERPOSE." This is somewhat less than PREVENTING, unless the Archbishop be meant by the GREAT PRELATE. Which is not very probable, 1. Because in the Preface to this very 3d Volume, p. 4. he says, "It was by Archbishop Sancroft's Order he had the free use of every thing that lay in the Lambeth Library." 2. Because the Author of *Speculum Sarisburianum*, p. 6. tells us, "His Access to the Library was owing SOLELY to the Recommendation of Archbishop Sancroft; as I have been informed (says the Author) by some of the Family." 3. Because Bishop Burnet in his *Hist. of his own Times*, Vol. I. p. 396. says it was "DOBEN, Bishop of Rochester, [at the Instigation of the Duke of Lauderdale] that diverted Sir John Cotton from suffering him to search his Library."

the Commonwealth of Learning, and who gave himself the Trouble of detecting some hundreds of the B——p's Mistakes, meets with very ill Quarters from his L———p. Upon which I cannot avoid mentioning a peculiar Method which this P———e takes to revenge himself upon those who presume to differ from him in Print. The Bishop of *Rochester** happened, some Years ago, to be of this Number. My L——d of S——m, in his Reply, ventured to tell the World, that the Gentleman, who had writ against him, meaning Dr. *Atterbury*, was one upon whom he had conferred great Obligations; which was a very generous Christian Contrivance of charging his Adversary with Ingratitude. But, it seems, the Truth happened to be on the other Side, which the Doctor made appear in such a manner as would have silenced his Lordship for ever, if he had not been Writing-proof. Poor Mr. *Wharton*, in his Grave, is charged with the same Accusation, but with Circumstances the most aggravating that Malice, and something else, could invent: and which I will no more believe than five hundred Passages in a certain Book of Travels. See the Character he gives of a Divine, and a Scholar, who shortened his Life in the Service of God and the Church. Mr. *Wharton* desired me to intercede with Tillotson for a Prebend of Canterbury. I did so, but *Wharton* would not believe it; said, he would be revenged, and so writ against me. Soon after he was convinced I had spoke for him; said he was set on to do what he did, and if I would procure any Thing for him, he would discover every Thing to me. What a Spirit of Candour, Charity, and Good-nature, Generosity, and Truth, shines through this Story, told of a most excellent and pious Divine, twenty Years after his Death, without one single Voucher!

* Dr. *Atterbury*.

COME

COME we now to the Reasons which moved his Lordship to set about this Work at this Time. He could delay it no longer, because the Reasons of his engaging in it at first seemed to return upon him. He was then frightened with the Danger of a *Popish Successor in View*, and the dreadful Apprehensions of the Power of France. England hath forgot these Dangers, and yet is nearer to them than ever, and therefore he is resolved to awaken them with his third Volume; but, in the mean Time, sends this Introduction to let them know they are asleep. He then goes on in describing the Condition of the Kingdom after such a manner, as if Destruction hung over us by a single Hair; as if the *Pope*, the *Devil*, the *Pretender*, and *France*, were just at our Doors.

WHEN the B—p published his History, there was a *Popish Plot* on Foot: The Duke of York, a known *Papist*, was presumptive Heir to the Crown: The House of Commons would not hear of any Expedients for securing their Religion under a *Popish Prince*, nor would the King, or Lords, consent to a Bill of Exclusion: The *French King* was in the Height of his Grandeur, and the Vigour of his Age. At this Day the Presumptive Heir, with that whole illustrious Family, are *Protestants*; the *Popish Pretender* excluded for ever by several Acts of Parliament; and every Person, in the smallest Employment, as well as the Members of both Houses, obliged to *abjure* him. The *French King* is at the lowest Ebb of Life; his Armies have been conquered, and his Towns won from him for ten Years together; and his Kingdom is in Danger of being torn by Divisions during a long Minority. Are these Cases parallel? Or are we now in more Danger of *France* and *Popery* than we were thirty Years ago? What can

can be the Motive for advancing such false, such detestable Assertions? What Conclusions would his Lordship draw from such Premisses as these? If injurious Appellations were of any Advantage to a Cause (as the Style of our Adversaries would make us believe) what Appellations would those deserve who thus endeavour to sow the Seeds of Sedition, and are impatient to see the Fruits? *But, faith he, the deaf Adder stoppeth her Ears, let the Charmer charm never so wisely.* True, my L——d, there are indeed too many *Adders* in this Nation's Bosom; *Adders* in all Shapes, and in all Habits, whom neither the QUEEN nor Parliament can *charm* to Loyalty, Truth, Religion, or Honour.

AMONG other Instances produced by him of the dismal Condition we are in, he offers one which could not easily be guessed. It is this, *That the little factious Pamphlets written about the End of King Charles II's Reign, lie dead in Shops, are looked on as waste Paper, and turned to Pasteboard.* How many are there of his Lordship's writing, which could otherwise never have been of any real Service to the Publick? Hath he indeed so mean an Opinion of our Taste, to send us at this time of Day into all the Corners of Holbourn, Duck-Lane, and Moorfields, in quest after the factious Trash, published in those Days by *Julian Johnson, Hickeringil, Dr. Oates,* and himself.

HIS Lordship taking it for a *Postulatum*, that the QUEEN and Ministry, both Houses of Parliament, and a vast Majority of the Landed Gentlemen throughout England, are running headlong into Popery, layeth hold on the Occasion to describe *the Cruelties in Queen Mary's Reign: An Inquisition setting up Faggots in Smithfield, and Executions all over*
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the Kingdom. Here is that, says he, which those, that looks towards a Popish Successor, must look for. And he insinuates through his whole Pamphlet, that all, who are not of his Party, look towards a Popish Successor. These he divides into two Parts, the Tory Laity, and the Tory Clergy. He tells the former: Although they have no Religion at all, but resolve to change with every Wind and Tide; yet they ought to have Compassion on their Countrymen and Kindred. Then he applies himself to the Tory Clergy, assures them, that the Fires revived in Smithfield, and all over the Nation, will have no amiable View; but least of all to them, who, if they have any Principles at all, must be turned out of their Livings, leave their Families, be hunted from Place to Place into Parts beyond the Seas, and meet with that Contempt with which they treated Foreigners, who took Sanctuary among us.

THIS requires a Recapitulation, with some Remarks. First, I do affirm, that in every Hundred of professed *Atheists, Deists, and Socinians* in the Kingdom, ninety-nine, at least, are staunch thorough-paced *Whigs*, entirely agreeing with his L — p in Politicks and Discipline; and therefore will venture all the Fires of Hell, rather than singe one Hair of their Beards in *Smithfield*. Secondly, I do likewise affirm, that those whom we usually understand by the Appellation of *Tory*, or High-church Clergy, were the greatest Sticklers against the exorbitant Proceedings of King *James the Second*, the best Writers against *Popery*, and the most exemplary Sufferers for the Established Religion. Thirdly, I do pronounce it to be a most false and infamous Scandal upon the Nation in general, and on the Clergy in particular, to reproach them for *treating Foreigners with Haughtiness*

tines and Contempt. The French Hugonots are many thousand Witnesses to the contrary; and I wish they deserved the thousandth Part of the good Treatment they have received.

LASTLY, I observe that the Author of a Paper, called *The Englishman*, hath run into the same Cant, gravely advising the whole Body of the Clergy not to bring in *Popery*; because that will put them under a Necessity of parting with their Wives, or losing their Livings.

THE Bulk of the Kingdom, both Clergy and Laity, happen to differ extremely from this People in many Principles, both of Politicks and Religion. Now I ask, Whether, if any Man of them had signed their Name to a System of *Atheism*, or *Popery*, he could have argued with them otherwise than he doth? Or, if I should write a grave Letter to his L——p with the same Advice, taking it for granted that he was half an *Atheist* and half a *Papist*, and conjuring him by all he held dear, to have Compassion upon all those who believed a God, *not to revive the Fires in Smithfield, that he must either forfeit his Bishoprick, or not marry a fourth Wife*; I ask, Whether he would not think I intended him the highest Injury and Affront?

BUT as to the *Tory* Laity, he gives them up in a Lump for abandoned Atheists: They are a Set of Men so impiously corrupted, in the Point of Religion, that no Scene of Cruelty can fright them from leaping into it [*Popery*] and perhaps acting such a Part in it as may be assigned them. He therefore despairs of influencing them by any Topicks drawn from Religion or Compassion, and advances the Consideration of Interest, as the only powerful Argument to persuade them against *Popery*.

WHAT

B——p of S——'s INTRODUCTION. 189

WHAT he offers upon this Head is so very amazing from a *Christian, a Clergyman, and a Prelate* of the Church of England, that I must, in my own Imagination, strip him of those three Capacities, and put him among the Number of *that Set of Men* he mentions in the Paragraph before; or else it will be impossible to shape out an Answer.

HIS L——p, in order to dissuade the *Tories* from their Design of bringing in *Popery*, tells them, *How valuable a Part of the whole Soil of England, the Abby Lands, the Estates of the Bishops, of the Cathedrals, and the Tythes are*: How difficult such a Resumption would be to many Families; yet all these must be thrown up; for *Sacrilege, in the Church of Rome, is a mortal Sin*. I desire it may be observed, what a Jumble here is made of Ecclesiastical Revenues, as if they were all upon the same Foot, were alienated with equal Justice, and the Clergy had no more Reason to complain of one than the other. Whereas the four Branches mentioned by him are of very different Consideration. If I might venture to guess the Opinion of the Clergy upon this Matter, I believe they could wish, that some small Part of the *Abby Lands* had been applied to the Augmentation of poor Bishopricks; and a very few Acres to serve for Glebes in those Parishes where there are none; after which, I think, they would not repine that the Laity should possess the rest. If the Estates of some Bishops and Cathedrals were exorbitant before the Reformation, I believe the present Clergy's Wishes reach no further, than that some reasonable Temper had been used, instead of paring them to the Quick. But, as to the *Tythes*, without examining whether they be of divine Institution, I conceive there is hardly one of that sacred Order in England,
and

and very few even among the *Laity*, who love the *Church*, who will not allow the misapplying those Revenues to secular Persons, to have been at first a most flagrant Piece of Injustice and Oppression; although, at the same time, God forbid they should be restored any other Way than by gradual Purchase, by the Consent of those who are now the lawful Possessors, or by the Piety and Generosity of such worthy Spirits as this Nation sometimes produceth. The B—— knows very well, that the Application of *Tithes* to the Maintenance of Monasteries, was a scandalous Usurpation, even in *Popish* Times. That the Monks usually sent out some of their Fraternity, to supply the Cures; and that, when the Monasteries were granted away by *Henry VIII*, the Parishes were left destitute, or very meanly provided, of any Maintenance for a Pastor. So that, in many Places, the whole Ecclesiastical Dues, even to *Mortuaries*, *Easter Offerings*, and the like, are in Lay Hands, and the Incumbent lieth wholly at the Mercy of his Patron for his daily Bread. By these Means there are several hundred Parishes in *England* under Twenty Pounds a Year, and many under Ten. I take his L——p's Bishoprick to be worth near 2500 *l.* annual Income; and I will engage, at half a Year's Warning, to find him above an hundred beneficed Clergymen, who have not so much among them all to support themselves and their Families: most of them orthodox, of good Life and Conversation; as loth to see the Fires kindled in *Smithfield* as his L——p; and, at least, as ready to face them under a *Popish* Persecution. But nothing is so hard for those, who abound in Riches, as to conceive how others can be in Want. How can the neighbouring Vicar feel Cold or Hunger while my L——d is seated

seated by a good Fire, in the warmest Room of his Palace, with a Dozen Dishes before him? I remember one other P——e much of the same Stamp, who when his Clergy would mention their Wishes, that some Act of Parliament might be thought of for the Good of the Church, would say: *Gentlemen, We are very well as we are; if they would let us alone, we should ask no more.*

SACRILEGE (says my L——d) *in the Church of Rome, is a mortal Sin: And is it only so in the Church of Rome? Or, is it but a venial Sin in the Church of England? Our Litany calls Fornication a deadly Sin; and I would appeal to his Lordship, for fifty Years past, whether he thought that or Sacrilege the deadliest? To make light of such a Sin, at the same Moment that he is frightening us from an idolatrous Religion, should seem not very consistent. Thou that sayest, A Man should not commit Adultery, dost thou commit Adultery? Thou that abhorrest Idols, dost thou commit Sacrilege?*

To smoothe the Way for the Return of Popery in Queen Mary's Time, the Grantees were confirmed by the Pope in the Possession of the Abby Lands. But the Bishop tells us, that *this Confirmation was fraudulent and invalid.* I shall believe it to be so, although I happen to read it in his L——p's History. But he adds, *that although the Confirmation had been good, the Priests would have got their Land again by those two Methods: First, The Statute of Mortmain was repealed for twenty Years; in which Time, no doubt, they reckoned they would recover the best Part of what they had lost; besides that engaging the Clergy to renew no Leases, was a thing entirely in their own Power; and this, in forty Years Time, would raise their Revenues to be about ten times their present Value.*

luc. These two Expedients for increasing the Revenues of the *Church*, he represents as pernicious Designs, fit only to be practised in Times of *Popery* and such as the *Laity* ought never to consent to: From whence, and from what he said before about Tythes, his L——p hath freely declared his Opinion, that the Clergy are rich enough, and that the least Addition to their Subsistence would be a Step towards *Popery*. Now it happens, that the two only Methods which could only be thought on, with any Probability of Success, towards some reasonable Augmentation of Ecclesiastical Revenues, are here rejected by a B——p, as a Means for introducing *Popery*; and the Nation publicly warned against them: Whereas the Continuance of the Statute of *Mortmain* in full Force, after the Church had been so terribly stripped, appeared to Her Majesty and the Kingdom a very unnecessary Hardship; upon which Account it was at several Times *relaxed* by the Legislature. Now, as the Relaxation of that Statute is manifestly one of the Reasons, which gives the B——p those terrible Apprehensions of *Popery* coming on us; so I conceive another Ground of his Fears, is the Remission of the *First-fruits* and *Tenths*. But where the Inclination to *Popery* lay, whether in Her Majesty, who proposed this Benefaction, the Parliament which confirmed, or the Clergy who accepted it, his L——p hath not thought fit to determine.

THE other *Popish* Expedient for augmenting Church Revenues is, *engaging the Clergy to renew no Leases*. Several of the most eminent Clergymen have assured me, that nothing has been more wished for by good Men, than a Law to prevent (at least) Bishops from letting Leases for Lives. I could
name

name ten Bishopricks in *England*, whose Revenues; one with another, do not amount to 600 Pounds a Year for each: And if his L—p's, for Instance, should be above ten times the Value, when the Lives are expired, I should think the Overplus would not be ill disposed towards an Augmentation of such as are now shamefully poor. But I do assert, that such an Expedient was not always thought *Popish* and dangerous by this Right Reverend Historian. I have had the Honour formerly to converse with him; and he hath told me, several Years ago, that he lamented extremely the Power which Bishops had of letting Leases for Lives; whereby, as he said, they were utterly deprived of raising their Revenues, whatever Alterations might happen in the Value of Money by Length of Time. I think the Reproach of betraying private Conversation will not, upon this Account, be laid to my Charge. Neither do I believe he would have changed his Opinion upon any score, but to take up another more agreeable to the Maxims of his Party, *That the least Addition of Property to the Church is one Step towards Popery.*

The B—p goes on with much Earnestness and Prolixity to prove, That the *Pope's* Confirmation of the *Church Lands* to those who held them by King *Henry's* Donation, was null and fraudulent; which is a Point, that, I believe, no *Protestant* in *England* would give Three-pence to have his Choice, whether it should be true or false: It might indeed serve as a Passage in his History, among a thousand other Instances, to detect the Knavery of the Court of *Rome*: But I ask, Where could be the Use of it in this *Introduction*? Or why all this Haste in publishing it at this Juncture; and so out of all Method, apart, and before the Work itself? He gives his

Reasons in very plain Terms: We are now, it seems, in more Danger of Popery than towards the End of King Charles the Second's Reign. That Set of Men [the Tories] is so impiously corrupted, in the point of Religion, that no Scene of Cruelty can frighten them from leaping into it, and perhaps from acting such a Part in it as may be assigned them. He doubts whether the High-church Clergy have any Principles; and therefore will be ready to turn off their Wives, and look on the Fires kindled in *Smithfield* as an amiable View. These are the Facts he all along takes for granted, and argues accordingly. Therefore, in Despair of dissuading the Nobility and Gentry of the Land from introducing Popery by any Motives of Honour, Religion, Alliance, or Mercy, he assures them, That the Pope hath not duly confirmed their Titles to the Church Lands in their Possession; which therefore must be infallibly restored, as soon as that Religion is established among us.

Thus, in his L——p's Opinion, there is nothing wanting to make the Majority of the Kingdom, both for Number, Quality, and Possession, immediately embrace Popery, except a firm Bull from the Pope, to secure the Abby and other Church Lands and Tythes to the present Proprietors and their Heirs: If this only Difficulty could now be adjusted, the Pretender would be restored next Session, the two Houses reconciled to the Church of Rome against Easter Term, and the Fires lighted in *Smithfield* by Midsummer. Such horrible Calumnies against a Nation are not the less injurious to Decency, Good-nature, Truth, Honour, and Religion, because they may be vented with Safety. And I will appeal to any Reader of common Understanding, whether this be not the most natural and necessary Deduction

Deduction from the Passages I have cited and referred to.

YET all this is but friendly Dealing, in Comparison with what he affords the Clergy upon the same Article. He supposes that whole Reverend Body, who differ from him in Principles of Church or State, are so far from disliking Popery, upon the above mentioned Motives of *Perjury, quitting their Wives, or burning their Relations*; that the Hopes of enjoying the *Abby Lands* would soon bear down all such Considerations, and be an effectual Incitement to their Perversion: And so he goes gravely on, as with the only Argument, which he thinks can have any Force, to assure them, that the *Parochial Priests, in Roman Catholick Countries, are much poorer than in ours; the several Orders of Regulars, and the Magnificence of their Church, devouring all their Treasure; and, by Consequence, their Hopes are vain, of expecting to be richer after the Introduction of Popery.*

BUT, after all, his L——p despairs, that even this Argument will have any Force with our abominable Clergy, because, to use his own Words, *They are an insensible and degenerate Race, who are thinking of nothing but their present Advantages; and, so that they may now support a luxurious and brutal Course of irregular and voluptuous Practices, they are easily hired to betray their Religion, to sell their Country, and give up that Liberty and those Properties, which are the present Felicities and Glories of this Nation.*

He seems to reckon all these Evils as Matters fully determined on, and therefore falls into the last usual Form of Despair by threatening the Authors of these Miseries with *lasting Infamy, and the Curses of Posterity upon perfidious Betrayers of their Trust.*

LET me turn this Paragraph into vulgar Language for the Use of the Poor; and strictly adhere to the Sense of the Words. I believe it may be faithfully translated in the following Manner: *The Bulk of the Clergy, and one Third of the Bishops are stupid Sons of Whores, who think of nothing but getting Money as soon as they can: If they may but procure enough to supply them in Gluttony, Drunkenness, and Whoring, they are ready to turn Traitors to God and their Country, and make their Fellow-subjects Slaves.* The rest of the Period, about threatening Infamy and the Curses of Posterity upon such Dogs and Villains, may stand as it doth in the B——p's own Phrase; and so make the Paragraph all of a Piece.

I WILL engage, on the other Side, to paraphrase all the Rogues and Rascals in *The Englishman*, so as to bring them up exactly to his L——p's Style: But, for my own Part, I much prefer the plain *Bil-linggate* Way of calling Names, because it expresseth our Meaning full as well, and would save abundance of Time which is lost by Circumlocution: So, for Instance, *John Dunton*, who is retained on the same Side with the B——p, calls my *Lord Treasurer* and *Lord Bolingbroke*, Traitors, Whoremongers, and Jacobites; which three Words cost our Right Reverend Author thrice as many Lines to define them; and I hope his L——p doth not think there is any Difference, in point of Morality, whether a Man calls me *Traitor* in one Word, or says *I am one hired to betray my Religion and sell my Country.*

I AM not surprized to see the B——p mention with Contempt all Convocations of the Clergy; for *Toland*, *Asgil*, *Monmouth*, *Collins*, *Tindal*, and others of the Fraternity, talk the very same Language. His L——p confesseth he is not inclined to expect much from the Assemblies of Clergymen. There lies the

the Misfortune; for if he, and some more of his Order, would correct their *Inclinations*, a great deal of Good might be expected from such Assemblies; as much as they are now cramped by that Submission, which a corrupt Clergy brought upon their innocent Successors. He will not deny that his *Copiousness* in these Matters is, in his own Opinion, one of the meanest Parts of his new Work. I will agree with him, unless he happens to be more *copious* in any Thing else. However, it is not easy to conceive, why he should be so *copious* upon a Subject he so much despiseth, unless it were to gratify his Talent of railing at the Clergy, in the Number of whom he disdains to be reckoned, because he is a B—p; for it is a Style I observe some Prelates have fallen into of late Years, to talk of Clergymen, as if themselves were not of the Number. You will read in many of their Speeches at Dr. *Sacheverel's* Trial, Expressions to this, or the like Effect: *My Lords, if Clergymen be suffered &c.* wherein they seem to have Reason; and I am pretty confident, that a great Majority of the Clergy were heartily inclined to disown any Relation they had to the *Managers in Law*. However, it was a confounding Argument against *Presbytery*, to see those Prelates, who are most suspected to lean that Way, treating their inferior Brethren with *Haughtiness, Rigour, and Contempt*; although, to say the Truth, nothing better could be hoped for; because, I believe, it may pass for an universal Rule, that, in every Diocese governed by Bishops of the *Whig* Species, the Clergy (especially the poorer sort) are under double Discipline; and the *Laitie* left to themselves. The Opinion of Sir *Thomas Moore*, which he produceth to prove the ill Consequences or Insignificancy of Convocations, advances

vanceth no such Thing; but says, *If the Clergy assembled often, and might act as other Assemblies of Clergy in Christendom, much Good might have come; but the Misfortune lay in their long Disuse, and that, in his own, and a good Part of his Father's Time, they never came together, except at the Command of the Prince.*

I suppose his L——p thinks, there is some original Impediment in the Study of Divinity, or secret Incapacity in a Gown and Cassock without Lawn, which disqualifies all inferior Clergymen from debating upon Subjects of Doctrine or Discipline in the Church. It is a famous Saying of his, *That he looks upon every Layman to be an honest Man, until he is, by Experience, convinced to the contrary; and on every Clergyman as a Knave, until he finds him to be an honest Man.* What Opinion then must we have of a Lower House of Convocation; where, I am confident, he will hardly find three Persons that ever convinced him of their Honesty, or will ever be at the Pains to do it? Nay, I am afraid they would think such a Conviction might be no very advantageous Bargain, to gain the Character of an honest Man with his L——p, and lose it with the rest of the World.

IN the famous Concordate that was made between Francis I. of France, and Pope Leo X. the B——p tells us, that *the King and Pope came to a Bargain, by which they divided the Liberties of the Gallican Church between them, and indeed quite enslaved it.* He intends, in the third Part of his History, which he is going to publish, to open this whole Matter to the World. In the mean Time he mentions some ill Consequences to the Gallican Church from that Concordate, which are worthy to be observed: *The Church*

Church of France became a Slave; and this Change in their Constitution put an End not only to National, but even to Provincial Synods in that Kingdom. The Assemblies of the Clergy there meet now only to give Subsidies, &c. and he says, our Nation may see by that Proceeding, what it is to deliver up the essential Liberties of a free Constitution to a Court.

ALL I can gather from this Master is, that our King Henry made a better Bargain than his Contemporary Francis, who divided the Liberties of the Church between himself and the Pope, while the King of England seized them all to himself. But how comes he to number the Want of Synods in the Gallican Church among the Grievances of that Concordate, and as a Mark of their Slavery, since he reckons all Convocations of the Clergy in England to be useless and dangerous? Or what Difference, in point of Liberty, was there between the Gallican Church under Francis, and the English under Harry? For the latter was as much a Papist as the former, unless in the point of Obedience to the See of Rome, and, in every Quality of a good Man, or a good Prince (except Personal Courage, wherein both were equal) the French Monarch had the Advantage by as many Degrees as is possible for one Man to have over another.

HENRY VIII. had no Manner of Intention to change Religion in his Kingdom; he continued to persecute and burn Protestants after he had cast off the Pope's Supremacy: And, I suppose, his Seizure of Ecclesiastical Revenues (which Francis never attempted) cannot be reckoned as a Mark of the Church's Liberty. By the Quotation the B—p sets down, to shew the Slavery of the French Church, he represents it as a Grievance, that Bishops are not

now elected there as formerly, but wholly appointed by the Prince; and that those made by the Court have been ordinarily the chief Advancers of Schisms, Heresies, and Oppressions of the Church. He cites another Passage from a Greek Writer, and plainly insinuates, that it is justly applicable to her Majesty's Reign; Princes chuse such Men to that Charge [of a Bishop] who may be their Slaves, and in all Things obsequious to what they prescribe, and may lie at their Feet, and have not so much as a Thought contrary to their Commands.

THESE are very singular Passages for his L^{ty} to set down, in order to shew the dismal Consequences of the French Concordate, by the Slavery of the Gallican Church, compared with the Freedom of ours. I shall not enter into a long Dispute, whether it were better for Religion, that Bishops should be chosen by the Clergy, or People, or both together: I believe our Author would give his Vote for the second (which, however, would not have been of much Advantage to himself, and some others that I could name;) but I ask, Whether Bishops are any more elected in *England* than in *France*? And the Want of Synods are, in his own Opinion, rather a Blessing than a Grievance, unless he will affirm, that more Good can be expected from a *Papish* Synod than an *English Convocation*. Did the *French* Clergy ever receive a greater Blow to their Liberties than the Submission made to *Henry* the Eighth; or so great a one as the Seizure of their Lands? The Reformation owed nothing to the good Intentions of King *Henry*: He was only an Instrument of it (as the Logicians speak) by Accident; nor doth he appear, throughout his whole Reign, to have had any other Views than those of gratifying his insatiable Love

Love of Power, Cruelty, Oppression, and other irregular Appetites. But this Kingdom, as well as many other Parts of *Europe*, was, at that Time, generally weary of the Corruptions and Impositions of the *Roman* Court and Church; and disposed to receive those Doctrines which *Luther* and his Followers had universally spread. *Cranmer*, the Archbishop, *Cromwell*, and others of the Court, did secretly embrace the Reformation; and the King's abrogating the *Pope's* Supremacy, made the People in general run into the new Doctrine with greater Freedom, because they hoped to be supported in it by the Authority and Example of their Prince; who disappointed them so far, that he made no other Step, than rejecting the *Pope's* Supremacy, as a Clog upon his own Power and Passions; but retained every Corruption besides, and became a cruel Persecutor, as well of those who denied his own Supremacy, as of all others who professed any *Protestant* Doctrine. Neither hath any thing disgusted me more, in reading the Histories of those Times, than to see one of the worst Princes of any Age or Country, celebrated as an Instrument in that glorious Work of the Reformation.

THE B—p, having gone over all the Matters that properly fall within his *Introduction*, proceeds to expostulate with several sorts of People: First, with *Protestants*, who are no *Christians*, such as *Atheists*, *Deists*, *Free-thinkers*, and the like Enemies to Christianity: But these he treats with the Tenderness of a Friend, because they are, all of them, of sound *Whig* Principles in Church and State. However, to do him Justice, he lightly toucheth some old Topicks for the Truth of the Gospel; and concludes, by wishing that the *Free-thinkers* would consider

der well, if (Anglice, whether) *they think it is possible to bring a Nation to be without any Religion at all; and what the Consequences of that may prove; and, in case they allow the Negative, he gives it clearly for Christianity.*

SECONDLY, He applieth himself (if I take his Meaning right) to Christian Papists, *who have a Taste of Liberty; and desires them to compare the Absurdity of their own Religion with the Reasonableness of the Reformed: Against which, as good Luck would have it, I have nothing to object.*

THIRDLY, He is somewhat rough against his own Party, *who, having tasted the Sweetness of Protestant Liberty, can look back so tamely on Popery coming on them; it looks as if they were bewitched, or that the Devil were in them, to be so negligent. It is not enough, that they resolve not to turn Papists themselves; they ought to awaken all about them, even the most ignorant and stupid, to apprehend their Danger, and to exert themselves with their utmost Industry to guard against it, and to resist it. If, after all their Endeavours to prevent it, the Corruption of the Age, and the Art and Power of our Enemies, prove too hard for us; then, and not until then, we must submit to the Will of GOD, and be silent; and prepare ourselves for all the Extremities of Suffering and of Misery, with a great deal more of the same Strain.*

WITH due Submission to the profound Sagacity of this P—l—e, who can smell Popery at five hundred Miles Distance, better than *Fanaticism* just under his Nose, I take leave to tell him, that this Reproof to his Friends, for want of Zeal and Clamour against Popery, Slavery, and the Pretender, is what they have not deserved. Are the Pamphlets and Papers daily published by the sublime Authors of his

his Party, full of any thing else. Are not the QUEEN, the Ministers, the Majority of Lords and Commons, loudly taxed in Print with this Charge against them at full Length? Is it not the perpetual Echo of every *Whig* Coffee-house and Club? Have they not quartered *Papery* and the *Pretender* upon the Peace, and Treaty of Commerce; upon the possessing, and quitting, and keeping, and demolishing of *Dunkirk*? Have they not clamoured, because the *Pretender* continued in *France*, and because he left it? Have they not reported, that the Town swarmed with many thousand *Papists*; when, upon Search, there were never found so few of that Religion in it before? If a Clergyman preacheth Obedience to the higher Powers, is he not immediately traduced as a *Papist*? Can mortal Man do more? To deal plainly, my L—d, your Friends are not strong enough yet to make an Insurrection, and it is unreasonable to expect one from them, until their Neighbours be ready.

My L—d, I have a little Seriousness at Heart upon this Point, where your Lordship affects to shew so much. When you can prove, that one single Word hath ever dropt from any Minister of State, in publick or private, in favour of the *Pretender*, or his Cause; when you can make it appear, that, in the Course of this Administration, since the QUEEN thought fit to change her Servants, there hath one Step been made towards weakening the *Hanover* Title, or giving the least Countenance to any other whatsoever; then, and not until then, go dry your Chaff and Stubble, give Fire to the Zeal of your Faction, and reproach them with Lukewarmness.

FOURTHLY, The B—p applies himself to the *Tories* in general; taking it for granted, after his chari-

charitable manner, that they are all ready prepared to introduce *Popery*. He puts an Excuse into their Mouths, by which they would endeavour to justify their Change of Religion: *Popery is not what it was before the Reformation: Things are now much mended, and further Corrections might be expected, if we would enter into a Treaty with them: In particular, they see the Error of proceeding severely with Hereticks; so that there is no Reason to apprehend the Returns of such Cruelties as were practised an Age and a Half ago.*

THIS, he assures us, is a Plea offered by the *Tories*, in Defence of themselves, for going about, at this Juncture, to establish the *Popish* Religion among us: What Argument doth he bring to prove the Fact itself?

Quibus indiciis, quo teste, probavit?

Nil horum: Verbosa & grandis epistola venit.

Nothing but this tedious *Introduction*, wherein he supposeth it all along as a Thing granted. That there might be a perfect Union in the whole Christian Church, is a Blessing which every good Man wisheth, but no reasonable Man can hope. That the more polite Roman Catholicks have, in several Places, given up some of their superstitious Fopperies, particularly concerning *Legends*, *Relicks*, and the like, is what no body denies. But the material Points in Difference between us and them, are universally retained and asserted in all their controversial Writings. And if his L — p really thinks, that every Man, who differs from him, under the Name of a *Tory*, in some Church and State Opinions, is ready to believe *Transubstantiation*, *Purgatory*, the *Infallibility* of Pope or Councils, to worship *Saints* and *Angels*,

gels, and the like; I can only pray God to enlighten his Understanding, or graft in his Heart the first Principles of Charity; a Virtue which some People ought not by any means wholly to renounce, because it covereth a multitude of Sins.

FIFTHLY, the B — p applies himself to his own Party in both Houses of Parliament, whom he exhorts to guard their Religion and Liberty against all Danger, at what Distance soever it may appear. If they are absent and remiss on critical Occasions; that is to say, if they do not attend close next Sessions, to vote upon all Occasions whatsoever against the Proceedings of the QUEEN and her Ministry, or if any Views of Advantage to themselves prevail on them: In other Words, if any of them vote for the Bill of Commerce, in hopes of a Place, or a Pension, a Title, or a Garter; GOD may work a Deliverance for us another Way; that is to say, by inviting the DUTCH: But they and their Families, i. e. those who are negligent, or Revolters, shall perish; by which is meant, they shall be hanged, as well as the present Ministry, and their Abettors, as soon as we recover our Power; because they let in Idolatry, Superstition, and Tyranny; because they stood by, and suffered the Peace to be made, the Bill of Commerce to pass, and Dunkirk lie undemolished longer than we expected, without raising a Rebellion.

HIS last Application is to the Tory Clergy, a Parcel of blind, ignorant, dumb, sleeping, greedy, drunken Dogs. A pretty artful Episcopal Method is this, of calling his Brethren as many injurious Names as he pleaseth. It is but quoting a Text of Scripture, where the Characters of evil Men are described, and the thing is done; and, at the same Time, the Appearances

pearances of Piety and Devotion preserved. I would engage, with the Help of a good Concordance, and the Liberty of perverting Holy Writ, to find out as many injurious Appellations as *The Englishman* throws out in any of his politick Papers, and apply them to those Persons, *who call Good, Evil; and Evil, Good; to those who cry without Cause, Every Man to his Tent, O Israel! and to those who curse the QUEEN in their Hearts!*

THESE decent Words, he tells us, make up a lively Description of such Pastors as will not study Controversy, nor know the Depths of Satan. He means, I suppose, the Controversy between us and the Papists; for, as to the Freethinkers and Dissenters of every Denomination, they are some of the best Friends to the Cause. Now, I have been told, there is a Body of that kind of Controversy published by the London Divines, which is not to be matched in the World. I believe likewise, there is a good Number of the Clergy at present thoroughly versed in that Study; after which I cannot but give my Judgment, that it would be a very idle thing for Pastors in general to busy themselves much in Disputes against Popery: It being a dry heavy Employment of the Mind at best, especially when, God be thanked, there is so little Occasion for it in the generality of Parishes throughout the Kingdom, and must be daily less and less by the just Severity of the Laws, and the utter Aversion of our People from that idolatrous Superstition.

IF I might be so bold to name those who have the Honour to be of his L——p's Party, I would venture to tell him, That Pastors have much more Occasion to study Controversies against the several Classes of Freethinkers and Dissenters: The former

(I beg

(I beg his L——p's Pardon for saying so) being a little worse than *Papists*, and both of them more dangerous at present to our Constitution both in Church and State. Not that I think *Presbytery* so corrupt a System of Christian Religion as *Popery*; I believe it is not above one Third as bad: But I think the *Presbyterians*, and their Clans of other *Fanaticks*, of *Freethinkers* and *Atheists*, that dangle after them, are as well inclined to pull down the present Establishment of Monarchy and Religion, as any Sett of *Papists* in Christendom; and therefore that our Danger, as Things now stand, is infinitely greater from our *Protestant* Enemies; because they are much more able to ruin us, and full as willing. There is no doubt, but *Presbytery* and a Commonwealth are less formidable Evils than *Popery*, *Slavery*, and the *Pretender*; for, if the *Fanaticks* were in Power, I should be in more Apprehension of being starved than burned. But there are probably in England forty *Dissenters* of all kinds, including their Brethren the *Freethinkers*, for one *Papist*; and, allowing one *Papist* to be as terrible as three *Dissenters*, it will appear by Arithmetick that we are thirteen Times and one third more in Danger of being ruined by the latter than the former.

THE other Qualification necessary for all Pastors, if they will not be *blind*, *ignorant*, *greedy*, *drunken*, *Dogs*, &c. is, to know the Depths of Satan. This is harder than the former; that a poor Gentleman ought not to be Parson, Vicar, or Curate of a Parish, except he be cunninger than the Devil. I am afraid it will be difficult to remedy this Defect, for one manifest Reason, because whoever had only half the Cunning of the Devil, would never take up with a Vicarage of ten Pounds a Year, to live on at his Ease, as my L——d expresseth it; but seek out for some better

better Livelihood. His Lordship is of a Nation very much distinguished for that Quality of *Cunning* (although they have a great many better) and I think he was never accused for wanting his Share. However, upon a Trial of Skill, I would venture to lay six to four on the *Devil's Side*, who must be allowed to be at least the older *Practitioner*. *Telling Truth* shames him, and *Resistance* makes him fly; but to attempt outwitting him, is to fight him at his own Weapon, and consequently no *Cunning* at all. Another Thing I would observe is, that a Man may be in the *Depths of Satan*, without knowing them all; and such a Man may be so far in *Satan's Depths*, as to be out of his own. One of the *Depths of Satan* is to counterfeit an *Angel of Light*. Another, I believe, is to stir up the People against their Governors by false Suggestions of Danger. A third, is to be a *Prompter to false Brethren*, and to send *Wolves* about in *Sheep's Cloathing*. Sometimes he sends *Jesuits* about *England* in the Habit and Cant of *Fanaticks*; at other times he hath *Fanatick Missionaries* in the Habits of ———. I shall mention but one more of *Satan's Depths*; for I confess I know not the hundredth Part of them; and that is, to employ his Emissaries in crying out against remote imaginary Dangers, by which we may be taken off from defending ourselves against those which are really just at our Elbows.

BUT his Lordship draws towards a Conclusion, and bids us *look about, to consider the Danger we are in, before it is too late*; for he assures us, we are already going into some of the worst Parts of Popery; like the Man, who was so much in Haste for his new Coat, that he put it on the wrong Side out. *Auricular Confession, Priestly Absolution, and the Sacrifice*

crifice of the Mass, have made great Progress in *England*, and no body hath observed it: Several other *Popish Points* are carried higher with us, than by the *Priests themselves*: And somebody, it seems, had the *Impudence* to propose an Union with the *Gallican Church*. I have indeed heard, that Mr. *Lesly* published a Discourse to that purpose, which I have never seen; nor do I perceive the Evil in proposing an Union between any two Churches in *Christendom*. Without doubt Mr. *Lesly* is most unhappily misled in his *Politicks*; but if he be the Author of the late Tract against *Popery*, he hath given the World such a Proof of his Soundness in Religion, as many a *Bishop* ought to be proud of. I never saw the Gentleman in my Life: I know he is the Son of a great and excellent Prelate, who, upon several Accounts, was one of the most extraordinary Men of his Age. Mr. *Lesly* hath written many useful Discourses upon several Subjects, and hath so well deserved of the Christian Religion, and the Church of *England* in particular, that, to accuse him of *Impudence*, for proposing an Union in two very different Faiths, is a Style which, I hope, few will imitate. I detest Mr. *Lesly's* political Principles as much as his L——p can do for his Heart; but I verily believe he acts from a mistaken Conscience, and therefore I distinguish between the Principles and the Person. However, it is some Mortification to me, when I see an avowed Nonjuror contribute more to the confounding of *Popery*, than could ever be done by a hundred thousand such *Introductions* as this.

HIS L——p ends with discovering a small Ray of Comfort. God be thanked there are many among us that stand upon the Watch-Tower, and that give faithful Warning; that stand in the Breach,

and make themselves a Wall for their Church and Country; that cry to God Day and Night, and lie in the Dust mourning before him, to avert those Judgments that seem to hasten towards us. They search into the Mystery of Iniquity that is working among us, and acquaint themselves with that Mass of Corruption that is in Popery. He prays, That the Number of those may increase, and that he may be of that Number, ready either to die in Peace, or to seal that Doctrine he hath been preaching above fifty Years, with his Blood. This being his last Paragraph, I have made bold to transcribe the most important Parts of it. His Design is to end, after the manner of Orators, with leaving the strongest Impression possible upon the Minds of his Hearers. A great Breach is made, the Mystery of Popish Iniquity is working among us; may God avert those Judgments that are hastening towards us; I am an old Man, a Preacher above fifty Years, and I now expect, and am ready to die a Martyr for the Doctrines I have preached. What an amiable Idea doth he here leave upon our Minds, of Her Majesty, and her Government! He hath been poring so long upon Fox's Book of Martyrs, that he imagines himself living in the Reign of Queen Mary, and is resolved to set up for a Knight Errant against Popery: Upon the Supposition of his being in earnest (which I am sure he is not) it would require but a very little more Heat of Imagination, to make a History of such a Knight's Adventures. What would he say to behold the Fires kindled in Smithfield, and all over the Town, on the seventeenth of November; to behold the Pope borne in Triumph on the Shoulders of the People, with a Cardinal on the one Side, and the Pretender on the other? He would never believe it was Queen Elizabeth's Day, but that of her persecut-

ing

ing Sister : In short, how easily might a *Windmill* be taken for the Whore of Babylon, and a *Puppet-Shore* for a Popish Procession ?

BUT *Enthusiasm* is none of his L——p's Faculty : I am inclined to believe he might be melancholy enough when he writ this *Introduction* : The Despair at his Age of seeing a Faction restored, to which he hath sacrificed so great a Part of his Life : The little Success he can hope for, in case he should resume those High-Church Principles, in Defence of which he first employed his Pen : No visible Expectation of removing to *Farnham* or *Lambeth* : And, lastly, the Misfortune of being hated by every one, who either wears the Habit, or values the Profession of a Clergyman. No Wonder such a Spirit, in such a Situation, is provoked beyond the Regards of Truth, Decency, Religion, or Self-conviction. To do him Justice, he seems to have nothing else left, but to cry out *Halters, Gibbets, Faggots, Inquisition, Popery, Slavery*, and the *Pretender*. But, in the mean Time, he little considers what a World of Mischief he doth to his Cause. It is very convenient, for the present Designs of that Faction, to spread the Opinion of our immediate Danger from *Popery* and the *Pretender*. His Directors therefore ought, in my humble Opinion, to have employed his L——p in publishing a Book, wherein he should have affirmed, by the most solemn Asseverations, that all things were safe and well ; for the World hath contracted so strong a Habit of believing him backwards, that, I am confident, nine Parts in ten of those who have read, or heard of his *Introduction*, have slept in greater Security ever since. It is like the melancholy Tone of a Watchman at Midnight, who thumps with his Pole, as if some Thief were breaking in,

but

but you know by the Noise, that the Door is fast.

HOWEVER, he thanks God, there are many among us who stand in the Breach: I believe they may; it is a Breach of their own making, and they design to come forward, and storm and plunder, if they be not driven back. They make themselves a Wall for their Church and Country. A South Wall, I suppose, for all the best Fruit of the Church and Country to be nailed on. Let us examine this Metaphor. The Wall of our Church and Country is built of those who love the Constitution in both: Our domestick Enemies undermine some Parts of the Wall, and place themselves in the Breach, and then they cry, *We are the Wall*. We do not like such Patch-Work; they build with untempered Mortar; nor can they ever cement with us, till they get better Materials and better Workmen. God keep us from having our Breaches made up with such Rubbish. They stand upon the Watch-tower! They are indeed pragmatical enough to do so; but who assigned them that Post, to give us false Intelligence, to alarm us with false Dangers, and send us to defend one Gate, while their Accomplices are breaking in at another? They cry to God Day and Night, to avert the Judgment of Popery, which seems to hasten towards us. Then I affirm, they are Hypocrites by Day, and filthy Dreamers by Night: When they cry unto him, he will not hear them; for they cry against the plainest Dictates of their own Conscience, Reason, and Belief.

BUT, lastly, they lie in the Dust mourning before him. Hang me, if I believe that, unless it be figuratively ipoken. But suppose it to be true, Why do they lie in the Dust? Because they love to raise it:

it: For what do *they* mourn? Why, for Power, Wealth, and Places. There let the Enemies of the QUEEN and Monarchy, and the Church, *lie* and *mourn*, and *lick the Dust* like *Serpents*, till they are truly sensible of their Ingratitude, Falshood, Disobedience, Slander, Blasphemy, Sedition, and *every evil Work*.

I CANNOT find in my Heart to conclude without offering his L———p a little humble Advice upon some certain Points.

FIRST, I would advise him, if it be not too late in his Life, to endeavour a little at mending his Style, which is mighty defective in the *Circumstances* of Grammar, Propriety, Politeness, and Smoothness. I fancied at first it might be owing to the Prevalence of his Passion, as People sputter out Nonsense for Haste, when they are in a Rage. And indeed I believe this Piece before me hath received some additional Imperfections from that Occasion. But whoever hath heard his Sermons, or read his other Tracts, will find him very unhappy in the Choice and Disposition of his Words, and, for want of Variety, repeating them, especially the Particles, in a manner very grating to an *English* Ear. But I confine myself to this *Introduction*, as his last Work, where, endeavouring at *Rhetorical Flowers*, he gives us only Bunches of *Thistles*; of which I could present the Reader with a plentiful Crop; but I refer him to every Page and Line of the Pamphlet itself.

SECONDLY, I would most humbly advise his Lordship to examine a little into the Nature of Truth, and sometimes to hear what *she* says. I shall produce two Instances among an hundred. When he asserts, That we are *now in more Danger of Popery*

than towards the End of King Charles the Second's Reign; and gives the broadest Hints, that the QUEEN, the Ministry, the Parliament, and the Clergy, are just going to introduce it; I desire to know, whether he really thinks *Truth* is of his Side, or whether he be not sure *she* is against him? If the latter, then *Truth* and he will be found in two different Stories, and which are we to believe? Again, when he gravely advises the *Tories* not to *light the Fires in Smithfield*, and goes on in twenty Places, already quoted, as if the Bargain was made for *Papery* and *Slavery* to enter; I ask again, whether he hath rightly considered the Nature of *Truth*? I desire to put a parallel Case. Suppose his L——p should take it into his Fancy to write and publish a Letter to any Gentleman of no infamous Character for his Religion or Morals; and there advise him, with great Earnestness, not to rob or fire Churches, ravish his Daughter, or murder his Father; shew him the Sin and the Danger of these Enormities, that, if he flattered himself he could escape in Disguise, or bribe his Jury, he was grievously mistaken; that he must, in all Probability, forfeit his Goods and Chattels, die an ignominious Death, and be cursed by Posterity: Would not such a Gentleman justly think himself highly injured, although his L——p did not affirm, that the said Gentleman had Picklocks or Combustibles ready; that he had attempted his Daughter, and drawn his Sword against his Father, in order to stab him? Whereas, in the other Case, this Writer affirms over and over, that all Attempts for introducing *Papery* and *Slavery* are already made, the whole Business concerted, and that little less than a Miracle can prevent our Ruin.

THIRDLY, I could heartily wish his Lordship would not undertake to charge the Opinions of one or two, and those probably *Nonsurors*, upon the whole Body of the Nation that differs from him. Mr. Lessy writ a *Proposal for an Union with the Gallican Church*: Somebody else hath carried the *Necessity of Priesthood, in the Point of Baptism, farther than Popery*: A third hath asserted the *Independency of the Church on the State, and, in many Things, arraigned the Supremacy of the Crown*: Then he speaks in a dubious insinuating Way, as if some other *Popish Tenets* had been already advanced: And at last concludes in this affected Strain of Despondency? *What will all these Things end in? And on what Design are they driven? Alas, it is too visible!* It is as clear as the Sun, that these Authors are encouraged by the *Ministry*, with a Design to bring in *Popery*; and in *Popery* all these things will end.

I NEVER was so uncharitable to believe, that the whole *Party*, of which his L—p professeth himself a Member, had a real, formed Design of establishing *Atheism* among us. The Reason why the *Whigs* have taken the *Atheists* or *Freethinkers* into their Body, is because they wholly agree in their political Schemes, and differ very little in Church Power and Discipline. However, I could turn the Argument against his Lordship with very great Advantage, by quoting Passages from fifty Pamphlets, wholly made up of *Whiggism* and *Atheism*, and then conclude, *What will all these things end in? And on what Design are they driven? Alas, it is too visible!*

LASTLY, I would beg his L—p not to be so exceedingly outrageous upon the Memory of the Dead; because it is highly probable, that, in a very

short Time, he will be one of the Number. He hath, in plain Words, given Mr. *Wharton* the Character of a most malicious, revengeful, treacherous, lying, mercenary Villain. To which I shall only say, that the direct Reverse of this amiable Description, is what appears from the Works of that most learned Divine, and from the Accounts given me by those, who knew him much better than the B — p seems to have done. I meddle not with the moral Part of this Treatment. God Almighty forgive his L — p this manner of revenging himself; and then there will be but little Consequence from an Accusation, which the *Dead* cannot feel, and which none of the *Living* will believe.



PROPOSAL

Humbly offered to the

P_____**T,**

For the more effectual preventing the
further Growth of **POPERY.**

WITH THE

Description and Use of the **ECCLESIASTICAL
THERMOMETER.** Very proper for all
Families.

Insani sanus nomen ferat, æquus iniqui,

Ultra quàm satis est, virtutem si petat ipsam.

HOR.

HAVING, with great Sorrow of Heart, ob-
served the Increase of *Popery* among us of late
Years, and how ineffectual the penal Laws and Sta-
tutes of this Realm have been, for near forty Years
last past, towards reclaiming that blind and deluded
People

People from their Errors, notwithstanding the good Intentions of the Legislators, and the *pious and unwearied Labours* of the many learned Divines of the Established Church, who have preached to them, *without ceasing*, although hitherto without Success:

HAVING also remarked, in his GRACE's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, most kind Offers of his GRACE's good Offices towards obtaining such further Laws as shall be thought necessary towards bringing home the said wandering Sheep into the Fold of the Church, as also a good Disposition in the Parliament to join in the *laudable Work*, towards which every good Protestant ought to contribute *at least his Advice*: I think it a proper Time to lay before the Publick a Scheme which was writ some Years since, and laid by to be ready on a fit Occasion.

THAT, whereas the several penal Laws and Statutes now in being against *Papists*, have been found ineffectual, and rather tend to confirm, than reclaim Men from their Errors, as calling a Man *Coward*, is a ready Way to make him fight; It is humbly proposed,

I. THAT the said penal Laws and Statutes against *Papists*, except the Law of *Gavelkind*, and that which disqualifies them for Places, be repealed, abrogated, annulled, destroyed, and obliterated, to all Intents and Purposes.

II. THAT, in the Room of the said penal Laws and Statutes, all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction be taken from out of the Hands of the Clergy of the established Church, and the same be vested in the several *Papish* Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons: nevertheless so as such Jurisdiction be exercised over Persons of the *Papish* Religion only.

III. THAT

III. THAT a *Popish* Priest shall be settled by Law in each and every Parish in *Ireland*.

IV. THAT the said *Popish* Priest shall, on taking the Oath of Allegiance to his Majesty, be entitled to a tenth Part or Tithes of all things tithable in *Ireland*, belonging to the *Papists*, within their respective Parishes, yet so as such Grant of Tithes to such *Popish* Priests shall not be construed, in *Law or Equity*, to hinder the Protestant Clergyman of such Parish from receiving and collecting his Tithes in *like Manner* as he does at present.

V. THAT, in case of Detention or Substraction of Tithes by any *Papist*, the Parish Priest do have his Remedy at Law in any of his Majesty's Courts, in the same *Manner as now practised by the Clergy of the Established Church*; together with all other Ecclesiastical Dues. And, for their further Discovery to vex their People at Law, it might not be amiss to oblige the Solicitor-General, or some other able King's Counsel, to give his Advice, or Assistance to such Priests *gratis*, for which he might receive a Salary out of the *Barrack Fund, Military Contingencies, or Concordatum*; having observed the Exceedings there better paid than of the Army, or any other Branch of the Establishment; and I would have no Delay in Payment in a Matter of this Importance.

VI. THAT the Archbishops and Bishops have Power to visit the inferior Clergy, and to extort Proxies, Exhibits, and all other Perquisites usual in *Popish and Protestant Countries*.

VII. THAT the Convocation having been found, by long Experience, to be hurtful to *true Religion*, be for ever hereafter abolished among *Protestants*.

VIII. THAT, in the Room thereof, the *Popish* Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Deans, Arch-deacons, and

and Proctors, have Liberty to assemble themselves in Convocation, and be impowered to make such Canons as they shall think proper for the Government of the *Papists* in Ireland:

IX. AND that the secular Arm being necessary to enforce Obedience to Ecclesiastical Censure, the Sheriffs, Constables, and other Officers, be commanded to execute the Decrees and Sentences of the said *Papists* Convocation, with Secrecy and Dispatch, or, in lieu thereof, they may be at Liberty to erect an Inquisition, with proper Officers of their own.

X. THAT, as *Papists* declare themselves Converts to the Established Church, all *Spiritual Power* over them shall cease.

XI. THAT as soon as any whole Parish shall renounce the *Papists* Religion, the Priest of such Parish shall, for his good Services, have a Pension of 200 *l.* per Ann. settled on him for Life, and that he be from such Time exempt from Preaching and Praying, and other Duties of his Function, in like manner as *Protestant Divines*, with equal Incomes, are at present.

XII. THAT each Bishop, so soon as his Diocese shall become *Protestants*, be called *My Lord*, and have a Pension of two thousand Pounds per Annum, during Life.

XIII. THAT when a whole Province shall be reclaimed, the Archbishop shall be called *His Grace*, and have a Pension of three thousand Pounds per Ann. during Life, and be admitted a Member of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council.

THE good Consequences of this Scheme (which will execute itself without Murmurings against the Government) are very visible: I shall mention a few of the most obvious.

I. THE giving the Priest a Right to the Tithes would produce Law-suits and Wrangles ; his Reverence, being intitled to a certain Income at all Events, would consider himself as a legal Incumbent, and *behave accordingly*, and apply himself more to fleecing than feeding his Flock ; his necessary Attendance on the Courts of Justice would leave his People without a *Spiritual Guide* ; by which Means *Protestant* Curates, who have no Suits about Tithes, would be furnished with proper Opportunities for making Converts, which is very much wanted.

II. THE erecting a spiritual Jurisdiction amongst them would, *in all Probability*, drive as many out of that Communion, as a *due Execution* of such Jurisdiction hath hitherto drove from amongst ourselves.

III. AN *Inquisition* would still be a further Improvement, and most certainly would expedite the Conversion of *Papists*.

I KNOW it may be objected to this Scheme, and with some shew of Reason, that, should the *Papish* Princes abroad pursue the same Methods, with regard to their Protestant Subjects, the Protestant Interest in *Europe* would thereby be considerably weakened : but as we have no Reason to suspect *Papish* Counsels will ever produce so much Moderation, I think the Objection ought to have but little Weight.

A *DUE* Execution of this Scheme will soon produce many Converts from *Popery* ; nevertheless, to the end it may be known, when they shall be of the true Church, I have ordered a large Parcel of Ecclesiastical or Church *Thermometers* to be made, one of which is to be hung up in each Parish Church, the Description and Use of which take as follows, in the Words of the ingenious *Isaac Bickerstaff*, Esq;

THE

THE Church Thermometer, which I am now to treat of, is supposed to have been invented in the Reign of *Henry the Eighth*, about the Time when that religious Prince put some to Death for owning the Pope's Supremacy, and others for denying Transubstantiation. I do not find, however, any great Use made of this Instrument till it fell into the Hand of a learned and vigilant Priest or Minister (for he frequently wrote himself both the one and the other) who was some Time Vicar of *Bray*. This Gentleman lived in his Vicarage to a good old Age; and after having seen several Successions of his neighbouring Clergy either burnt or banished, departed this Life with the Satisfaction of having never deserted his Flock, and died Vicar of *Bray*. As this Glass was first designed to calculate the different Degrees of Heat in Religion, as it raged in Popery, or as it cooled and grew temperate in the Reformation, it was marked at several Distances, after the manner our ordinary Thermometer is to this Day, viz. *Extreme hot, Sultry hot, Very hot, Hot, Warm, Temperate, Cold, Just freezing, Frost, Hard Frost, Great Frost, Extreme Cold.*

It is well known, that *Torricellius*, the Inventor of the common Weather-Glass, made the Experiment of a long Tube which held thirty-two Foot of Water; and that a more modern Virtuoso, finding such a Machine altogether unweildly and useless, and considering that thirty-two Inches of Quicksilver weighed as much as so many Foot of Water in a Tube of the same Circumference, invented that sizeable Instrument which is now in Use. After this manner, that I might adapt the Thermometer I am now speaking of to the present Constitution of our Church,

as divided into *High* and *Low*, I have made some necessary Variations both in the Tube and the Fluid it contains. In the first place I ordered a Tube to be cast in a planetary Hour, and took Care to seal it hermetically, when the Sun was in Conjunction with *Saturn*. I then took the proper Precautions about the Fluid, which is a Compound of two different Liquors; one of them a Spirit drawn out of a strong heady Wine; the other a particular sort of Rock-Water, colder than Ice, and clearer than Crystal. The Spirit is of a red, fiery Colour, and so very apt to ferment, that, unless it be mingled with a Proportion of the Water, or pent up very close, it will burst the Vessel that holds it, and fly up in Fume and Smoak. The Water, on the contrary, is of such a subtle, piercing Cold, that, unless it be mingled with a proportion of the Spirits, it will sink almost through every Thing it is put into, and seems to be of the same Nature as the Water mentioned by *Quintus Curtius*, which, says the Historian, could be contained in nothing but in the Hoof, or (as the *Oxford* Manuscript has it) the Skull of an Ass. The Thermometer is marked according to the following Figure, which I set down at length, not only to give my Reader a clear Idea of it, but also to fill up my Paper.

Ignorance.

Persecution.

Wrath.

Zeal.

CHURCH.

Moderation.

Lukewarmness.

Infidelity.

Ignorance.

The

THE Reader will observe, that the Church is placed in the middle Point of the Glass between *Zeal* and *Moderation*, the Situation in which she always flourishes, and in which every good *Englishman* wishes her, who is a Friend to the Constitution of his Country. However, when it mounts to *Zeal*, it is not amiss; and, when it sinks to *Moderation*, it is still in admirable Temper. The worst of it is, that when once it begins to rise, it has still an Inclination to ascend, insomuch that is apt to climb from *Zeal* to *Wrath*, and from *Wrath* to *Persecution*, which often ends in *Ignorance*, and very often proceeds from it. In the same manner it frequently takes its Progress through the lower half of the Glass; and, when it has a Tendency to fall, will gradually descend from *Moderation* to *Lukewarmness*, and from *Lukewarmness* to *Infidelity*, which very often terminates in *Ignorance*, and always proceeds from it.

IT is a common Observation, that the ordinary Thermometer will be affected by the breathing of People who are in the Room where it stands; and indeed it is almost incredible to conceive how the Glass I am now describing, will fall by the Breath of the Multitude crying *Papery*; or, on the contrary, how it will rise when the same Multitude (as it sometimes happens) cry out in the same Breath, *The Church is in Danger*.

As soon as I had finished this my Glass, and adjusted it to the above-mentioned Scale of Religion, that I might make proper Experiments with it, I carried it under my Cloak to several Coffee-houses, and other Places of Resort, about this great City. At *St. James's* Coffee-house the Liquor stood at *Moderation*; but at *Will's*, to my extreme Surprise,

Surprize, it subsided to the very lowest Mark of the Glass. At the *Grecian* it mounted but just one Point higher; at the *Rainbow* it still ascended two Degrees; *Child's* fetched it up to *Zeal*, and other adjacent Coffee-houses to *Wrath*.

It fell in the lower Half of the Glass as I went further into the City, till at length it settled at *Moderation*, where it continued all the Time I staid about the *Change*, as also whilst I passed by the *Bank*. And here I cannot but take Notice, that, through the whole Course of my Remarks, I never observed my Glass to rise at the same Time that the Stocks did.

To complete the Experiment, I prevailed upon a Friend of mine, who works under me in the occult Sciences, to make a Progress with my Glass through the whole Island of *Great Britain*; and, after his Return, to present me with a Register of his Observations. I guessed before-hand at the Temper of several Places he passed through, by the Characters they have had Time out of Mind. Thus that facetious Divine, Dr. *Fuller*, speaking of the Town of *Banbury* near a hundred Years ago, tells us, it was a Place famous for Cakes and *Zeal*, which I find by my Glass is true to this Day, as to the latter Part of his Description; though I must confess, it is not in the same Reputation for Cakes that it was in the Time of that learned Author; and thus of other Places. In short, I have now by me, digested in an alphabetical Order, all the Counties, Corporations, and Boroughs in *Great Britain*, with their respective Tempers, as they stand related to my Thermometer. But this I shall keep to myself, because I would by no Means do any thing that may seem to influence any ensuing Election.

THE Point of Doctrine which I would propagate by this my Invention, is the same which was long ago advanced by that able Teacher *Horace*, out of whom I have taken my Text for this Discourse: We should be careful not to over-shoot ourselves in the Pursuits even of Virtue. Whether *Zeal* or *Moderation* be the Point we aim at, let us keep Fire out of the one, and Frost out of the other. But, alas! the World is too wise to want such a Precaution. The Terms *High Church* and *Low Church*, as commonly used, do not so much denote a Principle, as they distinguish a Party. They are like Words of Battle, that have nothing to do with their original Signification, but are only given out to keep a Body of Men together, and to let them know Friends from Enemies.

I must confess I have considered, with some Attention, the Influence which the Opinions of these great National Sects have upon their Practice, and do look upon it as one of the unaccountable Things of our Times, that Multitudes of honest Gentlemen, who entirely agree in their Lives, should take it in their Heads to differ in their Religion.

I SHALL conclude this Paper with an Account of a Conference which happened between a very excellent Divine (whose Doctrine was easy, and formerly much respected) and a Lawyer.

AND behold a certain Lawyer stood up and tempted him, saying, Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal Life?

He said unto him, What is written in the Law? How readeest thou?

AND

AND he answering, said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, and with all thy Soul, and with all thy Strength, and with all thy Mind; and thy Neighbour as thyself.

AND he said unto him, Thou hast answered right; this do, and thou shalt live.

BUT he, willing to justify himself, said unto Jesus, And who is my Neighbour?

AND Jesus answering, said; A certain Man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among Thieves, which stripped him of his Raiment, and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead.

AND by chance there came down a certain Priest that Way; and, when he saw him, he passed by on the other Side.

AND likewise a Levite, when he was at the Place, came and looked on him, and passed by on the other Side.

BUT a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was; and, when he saw him, he had Compassion on him.

AND went to him, and bound up his Wounds, pouring in Oil and Wine; and set him on his own Beast, and brought him to an Inn, and took Care of him.

AND on the Morrow, when he departed, he took out two Pence, and gave them to the Host, and said unto him, Take Care of him, and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again, I will repay thee.

WHICH now of these three, thinkest thou, was Neighbour unto him that fell among the Thieves?

AND he said, He that shewed Mercy on him. Then said *Jesus* unto him, Go, and do thou likewise, *Luke x. 25 to 38.*

Advertisement.

THERE is now in the Press a Proposal for raising a Fund towards paying the National Debt by the following Means: The Author would have Commissioners appointed to search all the publick and private Libraries, Booksellers Shops and Warehouses, in this Kingdom, for such Books as are of no Use to the Owner, or to the Publick, viz. all Comments on the Holy Scriptures, whether called Sermons, Creeds, Bodies of Divinity, Tomes of Casuistry, Vindications, Confutations, Essays, Answers, Replies, Rejoinders, or Sur-rejoinders, together with all other learned Treatises and Books of Divinity, of what Denomination or Class soever; as also all Comments on the Laws of the Land, such as Reports, Law-Cases, Decrees, Guides for Attornies and young Clerks, and, in fine, all the Books now in Being in this Kingdom (whether of Divinity, Law, Physick, Metaphysicks, Logicks, or Politicks) except the pure Text of the Holy Scriptures, the naked Text of the Laws, a few Books of Morality, Poetry, Musick, Architecture, Agriculture, Mathematicks, Merchandise, and History; the Author would have the aforesaid useless Books carried to the several Paper-Mills, there to be wrought into white Paper, which, to prevent Damage or Complaints, he would have performed by the Commentators, Criticks, popular Preachers, Apothecaries, learned Lawyers, Attornies, Solicitors, Logicians, Physicians, Almanack-

nack-makers, and others of the like wrong Turn of Mind; the said Paper to be sold, and the Produce applied to discharge the National Debt; what should remain of the said Debt unsatisfied, might be paid by a Tax on the Salaries or Estates of *Bankers, Common Cheats, Usurers, Treasurers, Imbezzlers of public Money, General Officers, Sharpers, Pensioners, Pick-pockets, &c.*



229
A PROPOSAL
THE
OF THE
BY A TAX ON THE
SHOPKEEPERS, TRAVELLERS, &c.
AND COMMON PEOPLE

OF
IRISH
CONCERNING

BRASS HALF-PENCE
JOINED BY ONE W. D. WOOD
THIRD VOLUME

WITH A DESIGN TO HAVE
W. D. WOOD

Power of the
Pence, and how
to take the same in
himself, in case
by Wood, or any other Person
Very proper to be kept in every Family

W. D. WOOD
LONDON

A
L E T T E R

T O T H E

*Shopkeepers, Tradesmen, Farmers,
and Common People*

O F

I R E L A N D,

C O N C E R N I N G T H E

BRASS HALF-PENCE

Coined by one *WILLIAM WOOD*,
Hard-ware-Man,

With a DESIGN to have them pass in this
K I N G D O M.

Wherein is shewn

The Power of his PATENT, the Value of his HALF-PENCE, and how far every Person may be obliged to take the same in Payments, and how to behave himself, in case such an Attempt should be made by WOOD, or any other Person.

(Very proper to be kept in every Family.)

By *M. B. DRAPIER*.

Written in the Year 1734.

1733

L E T T E R

TO THE

Shopkeepers, Tradesmen, Far-

mers, and
Country People in general of the Kingdom of

I R E L A N D

WHAT I intend to say to you, is not
to your Duty to God, and the Care of your

Salvation, of the greatest Concern to you,
I have a great deal to say to you, and I have

and every common Necessity of Life, and every
Opportunity, I shall endeavour to explain to you

as this is a Paper, and as I have
your Country, to read the Paper with the utmost At-

ention, and I have to say to you, that you may be
that you may be a good Christian, I have ordered

the Printer, to sell it at the lowest Rate,
It is a great Deal, and you may see that when a Per-

son writes with his own Hand, and in his own
Language, and in his own Words, and in his own

Style, and in his own Words, and in his own
Language, and in his own Words, and in his own

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Style, and in his own Words, and in his own
Language, and in his own Words, and in his own

L E T T E R I.

To the *Tradesmen, Shop-keepers, Farmers, and Country-People* in general of the Kingdom of
I R E L A N D.

Brethren, Friends, Countrymen, and Fellow-Subjects,
WHAT I intend now to say to you, is, next to your Duty to God, and the Care of your Salvation, of the greatest Concern to yourselves, and your Children; your *Bread and Clothing*, and every common Necessary of Life entirely depend upon it. Therefore I do most earnestly exhort you as *Men*, as *Christians*, as *Parents*, and as *Lovers of your Country*, to read this Paper with the utmost Attention, or get it read to you by others; which, that you may do at the less Expence, I have ordered the *Printer* to sell it at the lowest Rate.

It is a great Fault among you, that, when a Person writes with no other Intention than to do you Good, you will not be at the Pains to read his *Ad-vices*. One Copy of this Paper may serve a Dozen of you, which will be less than a Farthing a-piece. It is your Folly, that you have no common or general Interest in your View, not even the wisest among you; neither do you know, or enquire, or care, who are your Friends, or who are your Enemies.

ABOUT four Years ago a little Book was written to advise all People to wear the *Manufactures of this*
our

our own dear ^a Country. It had no other Design, said nothing against *King* or *Parliament*, or any Person whatsoever; yet the poor *PRINTER* was prosecuted two Years with the utmost Violence, and even some *WEAVERS* themselves, for whose Sake it was written, being upon the *JURY*, FOUND HIM GUILTY. This would be enough to discourage any Man from endeavouring to do you good, when you will either neglect him, or fly in his Face for his pains; and when he must expect only *Danger to himself*, and to be fined and imprisoned, perhaps to his Ruin.

HOWEVER, I cannot but warn you once more of the manifest Destruction before your Eyes, if you do not behave yourselves as you ought.

I WILL therefore first tell you the *plain Story of the Fact*; and then I will lay before you how you ought to act, in common Prudence, and according to the *Laws of your Country*.

THE *Fact* is thus: It having been many Years since *COPPER HALF-PENCE* or *FARTHINGS* were last coined in this Kingdom, they have been, for some Time, very scarce, and many *Counterfeits* passed about, under the Name of *RAPS*: Several Applications were made to *England*, that we might have Liberty to coin *New Ones*, as in former Times we did; but they did not succeed. At last one Mr. *Wood*, a mean ordinary Man, a *Hard-ware Dealer*, procured a *Patent* under His Majesty's Broad Seal, to coin 108,000*l.* in *Copper* for this *King*; which *Patent*, however, did not oblige any one here to take them, unless they pleased. Now you must

^a See one of the preceding Pamphlets, entitled, *A Proposal for the Use of Irish Manufactures*.

know,

know, that the *Half-pence* and *Farthings* in England, pass for very little more than they are worth; And, if you should beat them to pieces, and sell them to the *Brazier*, you would not lose much above a Penny in a Shilling. But Mr. *Wood* made his *Half-pence* of such *base Metal*, and so much smaller than the *English* ones, that the *Brazier* would hardly give you above a Penny of good Money for a *Shilling* of his; so that this Sum of 108,000 *l.* in good Gold and Silver, must be given for *Trash*, that will not be worth above *Eight* or *Nine Thousand Pounds* real Value. But this is not the worst; for Mr. *Wood*, when he pleases, may, by *Stealth*, send over another 108,000 *l.* and buy all our Goods for eleven Parts in twelve under the Value. For Example, if a *Hatter* sells a Dozen of *Hats* for five *Shillings* a piece, which amounts to three *Pounds*, and receives the Payment in *Wood's* Coin, he really receives only the Value of five *Shillings*.

PERHAPS you will wonder how such an *ordinary Fellow*, as this Mr. *Wood*, could have so much Interest as to get His MAJESTY'S Broad Seal for so great a Sum of bad Money, to be sent to this poor Country; and that all the *Nobility* and *Gentry* here could not obtain the same Favour, and let us make our own *Half-pence*, as we used to do. Now I will make that Matter very plain: We are at a great Distance from the King's Court, and have no body there to solicit for us, although a great Number of *Lords*, and *Squires*, whose Estates are here, and are our Countrymen, spend all their *Lives* and *Fortunes* there: But this same Mr. *Wood* was able to attend constantly for his own Interest; he is an *Englishman*, and had great Friends, and, it seems, knew very well where to give Money to those, that would speak to others,

others, that could speak to the *King*, and would tell a *fair Story*. And *His Majesty*, and perhaps the great Lord, or Lords who advised him, might think it was for our *Country's Good*: and so, as the Lawyers express it, the *King* was deceived in his Grant, which often happens in all Reigns. And I am sure if *His Majesty* knew that such a Patent, if it should take Effect according to the Desire of Mr. *Wood*, would utterly ruin this Kingdom, which hath given such great Proofs of its *Loyalty*, he would immediately recal it, and perhaps shew his Displeasure to *some body or other*; but a *Word to the Wise is enough*. Most of you have heard with what Anger our *Honourable House of Commons* received an Account of this *Wood's Patent*. There were several *fine Speeches* made upon it, and plain Proofs, that it was all a *wicked Cheat*, from the *Bottom* to the *Top*; and several *smart Votes* were printed, which that same *Wood* had the Assurance to answer likewise in *Print*; and in so confident a Way, as if he were a *better Man* than our *whole Parliament* put together.

THIS *Wood*, as soon as his *Patent* was passed, or soon after, sends over a great many *Barrels of those Half-pence* to *Cork*, and other Sea-port *Towns*; and, to get them off, offered an *hundred Pounds*, in his *Coin*, for *seventy or eighty* in *Silver*: But the *Collectors* of the *King's Customs* very honestly refused to take them, and so did almost every body else. And since the *Parliament* hath condemned them, and desired the *King* that they might be stopped, all the *Kingdom* do abominate them.

BUT *Wood* is still working under-hand to force his *Half-pence* upon us; and if he can, by the Help of his *Friends* in *England*, prevail so far as to get an Order, that the *Commissioners* and *Collectors* of the *King's Money*

Money shall receive them, and that the *Army* is to be paid with them; then he thinks *his Work* shall be done. And this is the Difficulty you will be under in such a Case; for the common Soldier, when he goes to the *Market*, or *Ale-house*, will offer this Money; and, if it be refused, perhaps he will *sawager* and *beator*, and threaten to beat the *Butcher*, or *Ale-wife*, or take the Goods by force, and throw them the bad *Half-pence*. In this, and the like Cases, the *Shopkeeper*, or *Viſtualler*, or any other *Tradesman*, has no more to do, than to demand ten times the Price of his Goods, if it is to be paid in *Wood's Money*; for Example, Twenty Pence of that Money for a *Quart of Ale*, and so in all things else, and not part with his Goods till he gets the Money.

For suppose you go to an *Ale-house* with that base Money, and the *Landlord* gives you a *Quart* for Four of those *Half-pence*, what must the *Viſtualler* do? His *Brewer* will not be paid in that Coin, or if the *Brewer* should be such a Fool, the *Farmers* will not take it from them for their *Bere*, because they are bound, by their Leases, to pay their Rents in good and lawful Money of *England*, which this is not, nor of *Ireland* neither, and the *Squire*, their *Landlord*, will never be so bewitched to take such *Trash* for his Land; so that it must certainly stop somewhere or other, and wherever it stops, it is the same thing, and we are all undone.

THE common Weight of these *Half-pence* is between four and five to an Ounce; suppose five, then three Shillings and four-pence will weigh a Pound, and consequently twenty Shillings will weigh six Pounds *Butrer Weights*. Now there are many hun-

• A Sort of Barley in *Ireland*.

dred

dred *Farmers*, who pay two hundred Pounds a Year Rent; therefore when one of these *Farmers* comes with his half Year's Rent, which is one Hundred Pounds, it will be at least six hundred Pound Weight, which is three Horses Load.

IF a *Squire* has a mind to come to Town to buy Clothes, and Wine, and Spices, for himself and Family, or perhaps to pass the Winter here, he must bring with him five or six Horses loaded with Sacks, as the *Farmers* bring their Corn; and, when his Lady comes in her Coach to our Shops, it must be followed by a Car loaded with Mr. *Wood's* Money. And I hope we shall have the Grace to take it for no more than it is worth.

THEY say, *Squire Conolly* has sixteen thousand Pounds a Year; now if he sends for his Rent to Town, as it is likely he does, he must have two hundred and fifty Horses to bring up his Half Year's Rent, and two or three great Cellars in his House for Stowage. But what the Bankers will do, I cannot tell; for I am assured, that some great *Bankers* keep by them forty thousand Pounds, in ready Cash, to answer all Payments, which Sum, in Mr. *Wood's* Money, would require twelve hundred Horses to carry it.

FOR my own Part, I am already resolved what to do: I have a pretty good Shop of *Irish* Stuffs and Silks, and instead of taking Mr. *Wood's* bad Copper, I intend to truck with my Neighbours the *Butchers*, and *Bakers*, and *Brewers*, and the rest, Goods for Goods; and the little Gold and Silver I have, I will keep by me, like my Heart's Blood, till better Times, or until I am just ready to starve, and then I will buy Mr. *Wood's* Money, as my Father did the Brass Money in King *James's* Time, who could buy ten Pounds of it with a Guinea; and I hope to get as much

much for a *Pissoley*, and so purchase *Bread* from those who will be such Fools as to sell it me.

THESE *Half-pence*, if they once pass, will soon be counterfeited, because it may be cheaply done, the *Stuff* is so base. The *Dutch* likewise will probably do the same thing, and send them over to us to pay for our *Goods*; and Mr. *Wood* will never be at rest, but coin on; so that in some Years we shall have at least five times 108,000 *l.* of this *Lumber*. Now the current Money of this Kingdom is not reckoned to be above four hundred thousand Pounds in all; and, while there is a *Silver Six-pence* left, these *Blood-suckers* will never be quiet.

WHEN once the Kingdom is reduced to such a Condition, I will tell you what must be the End: The *Gentlemen of Estates* will turn off their *Tenants* for want of Payment, because, as I told you before, the *Tenants* are obliged, by their *Leases*, to pay *Sterling*, which is lawful current Money of *England*: then they will turn their own *Farmers*, as too many of them do already, run all into *Sheep*, where they can, keeping only such other Cattle as are necessary; then they will be their own *Merchants*, and send their *Wool*, and *Butter*, and *Hides*, and *Linen*, beyond Sea, for ready Money, and *Wine*, and *Spices*, and *Silks*. They will keep only a few miserable *Cottagers*; the *Farmers* must rob, or beg, or leave their Country; the *Shopkeepers* in this, and every other Town, must break and starve; for it is the *Landed Man* that maintains the *Merchant*, and *Shopkeeper*, and *Handicraftsman*.

BUT when the *Squire* turns *Farmer* and *Merchant* himself, all the good Money he gets from abroad, he will hoard up to send for *England*, and keep some poor *Taylor* or *Weaver*, and the like, in his own House,

House, who will be glad to get Bread at any Rate.

I should never have done, if I were to tell you all the Miseries that we shall undergo, if we be so *foolish* and *wicked* as to take this *curst* Coin. It would be very hard, if all *Ireland* should be put into *one Scale*, and this sorry Fellow, *Wood*, into the *other*; that Mr. *Wood* should weigh down this *whole Kingdom*, by which *England* gets above a Million of good Money every Year clear into their *Pockets*: And that is more than the *English* do by *all the World* besides.

BUT your great Comfort is, that as His Majesty's Patent doth not oblige you to take this Money, so the Laws have not given the Crown a Power of forcing the Subject to take what Money the King pleases; for then, by the same Reason, we might be bound to take *Pebble-stones*, or *Cockle-shells*, or *stamped Leather*, for current Coin, if ever we should happen to live under an ill Prince, who might likewise, by the same Power, make a *Guinea* pass for *Ten Pounds*, a *Shilling* for *Twenty Shillings*, and so on; by which he would, in a short Time, get all the *Silver* and *Gold* of the Kingdom into his own Hands, and leave us nothing but *Brass* or *Leather*, or what he pleased. Neither is any thing reckoned more *cruel* and *oppressive* in the *French* Government, than their common Practice of calling in all their Money, after they have sunk it very low, and then coining it anew at a much higher Value; which, however, is not the thousandth Part so wicked as this *abominable Project* of Mr. *Wood*. For the *French* give their Subjects *Silver* for *Silver*, and *Gold* for *Gold*; but this Fellow will not so much as give us good *Brass* or
Copper

Copper for our Gold and Silver, nor even a twelfth Part of their Worth.

HAVING said this much, I will now go on to tell you the Judgment of some great Lawyers in this Matter; whom I see'd on purpose for your Sakes, and got their Opinions under their Hands, that I might be sure I went upon good Grounds.

A Famous Law Book, called the Mirrour of Justice, discoursing of the Charters (or Laws) ordained by our Ancient Kings, declares the Law to be as follows: It was ordained, that no King of this Realm should change or impair the Money, or make any other Money than of Gold or Silver, without the Assent of all the Counties; that is, as My Lord Coke ^a says, without the Assent of Parliament.

THIS Book is very ancient, and of great Authority for the Time in which it was wrote, and with that Character is often quoted by that great Lawyer My Lord Coke ^b. By the Laws of England several Metals are divided into lawful or true Metal, and unlawful or false Metal; the former comprehends Silver or Gold, the latter all baser Metals; that the former is only to pass in Payments, appears by an Act of Parliament ^c made the twentieth Year of Edward the First, called, *The Statute concerning the passing of Pence*; which I give you here as I got it translated into English; for some of our Laws at that Time were, as I am told, writ in Latin: *Whoever, in buying or selling, presumes to refuse an Half penny or Farthing, of lawful Money, bearing the Stamp which it ought to have, let him be seized on as a Contemner of the King's Majesty, and cast into Prison.*

^a 1 Inst. 576.

^b 2 Inst. 576, 7.

^c 2 Inst. 577.

By this *Statute*, no Person is to be reckoned a *Contemner* of the *King's Majesty*, and for that Crime to be committed to *Prison*, but he who refuseth to accept the King's Coin made of *lawful Metal*; by which, as I observed before, *Silver* and *Gold* only are intended.

THAT this is the true *Construction* of the *Act*, appears not only from the plain Meaning of the Words, but from my Lord *Coke's* ^a Observation upon it. By this *Act* (says he) it appears, that no Subject can be forced to take, in *Buying* or *Selling*, or other *Payment*, any Money made but of *lawful Metal*; that is of *Silver* or *Gold*.

THE Law of *England* gives the King all Mines of *Gold* and *Silver*; but not the Mines of other *Metals*; the Reason of which *Prerogative*, or *Power*, as it is given by my Lord *Coke* ^b, is, because Money can be made of *Gold* and *Silver*, but not of other *Metals*.

PURSUANT to this Opinion *Half-pence* and *Farthings* were anciently made of *Silver*, which is evident from the *Act of Parliament* of *Henry the Fourth*, Chap. 4. whereby it is enacted as follows: *Item, for the great Scarcity that is at present within the Realm of England of Half-pence and Farthings of Silver; it is ordained and established, that the third Part of all the Money of Silver Plate which shall be brought to the Bullion, shall be made in Half-pence and Farthings.* This shews, that by the Words *Half penny* and *Farthing* of lawful Money in that *Statute* concerning the *Passing of Pence*, is meant a small Coin in *Half-pence* and *Farthings* of *Silver*.

THIS is further manifest from the *Statute* of the Ninth Year of *Edward the Third*, Chap. 3. which

^a 2 Inst. 577.

^b 2 Inst. 577.

enacts, *That no Sterling Half-penny or Farthing be molten for to make Vessels, or any other thing by the Goldsmiths, nor others, upon Forfeiture of the Money so molten (or melted.)*

By another Act in this King's Reign, *Black Money* was not to be current in *England*. And, by an Act made in the eleventh Year of his Reign, Chap. 5. *Gally Half-pence* were not to pass: What kind of *Coin* these were, I do not know; but I presume they were made of *base Metal*. And these Acts were no new *Laws*, but further Declarations of the old *Laws* relating to the *Coin*.

Thus the *Law* stands in relation to *Coin*. Nor is there any Example to the contrary, except one in *Davis's Reports*, who tells us, that, in the Time of *Tyrone's Rebellion*, Queen *Elizabeth* ordered *Money of mixed Metal*, to be coined in the Tower of *London*, and sent over hither for the Payment of the *Army*; obliging all People to receive it; and commanding that all *Silver Money* should be taken only as *Bullion*; that is for as much as it weighed. *Davis* tells us several Particulars in this Matter, too long here to trouble you with, and that the *Privy-Council* of this Kingdom obliged a *Merchant in England* to receive this *mixed Money* for Goods transmitted hither.

BUT this Proceeding is rejected by all the best Lawyers, as contrary to Law, the *Privy Council* her having no such legal Power. And, besides, it is to be considered, that the *QUEEN* was then under great Difficulties, by a *Rebellion* in this Kingdom, assisted from *Spain*; and whatever is done in great Exigences and dangerous Times, should never be an Example to proceed by in Seasons of *Peace* and *Quietness*.

I WILL now, my dear Friends, to save you the Trouble, fet before you in short, what the *Law* obliges you to do, and what it does not oblige you to.

FIRST, You are obliged to take all Money in Payments which is coined by the *King*, and is of the *English* Standard or Weight, provided it be of *Gold* or *Silver*.

SECONDLY, You are not obliged to take any Money which is not of *Gold* or *Silver*; not only the *Half-pence* or *Farthings* of *England*, but of any other Country. And it is merely for Convenience, or Ease, that you are content to take them; because the Custom of coining Silver *Half-pence* and *Farthings* hath long been left off; I suppose on Account of their being subject to be lost.

THIRDLY, Much less are we obliged to take those vile *Half-pence* of that same *Wood*, by which you must lose almost Eleven Pence in every Shilling.

THEREFORE, my Friends, stand to it One and All: Refuse this filthy *Trasb*. It is no Treason to rebel against Mr. *Wood*. His Majesty, in his Patent, obliges no body to take these *Half-pence*: Our *Gracious Prince* hath no such ill Advifers about him; or, if he had, yet you see the Laws have not left it in the *King's* Power, to force us to take any Coin but what is lawful, of right Standard, *Gold* and *Silver*. Therefore you have nothing to fear.

AND let me, in the next place, apply myself particularly to you who are the poorer sort of *Tradesmen*. Perhaps you may think you will not be so great Losers as the Rich, if these *Half-pence* should pass; because you seldom see any *Silver*, and your Customers come to your Shops or Stalls with nothing but
Brass

Brass, which you likewise find hard to be got. But you may take my Word, whenever this Money gains Footing among you, you will be utterly undone. If you carry these *Half-pence* to a Shop for *Tobacco*, or *Brandy*, or any other thing that you want; the Shopkeeper will advance his Goods accordingly, or else he must break, and leave the *Key under the Door*. Do you think I will sell you a Yard of *Ten-penny Stuff* for Twenty of Mr. Wood's *Half-pence*? No, not under Two hundred at least; neither will I be at the Trouble of counting, but weigh them in a Lump. I will tell you one thing further, that if Mr. Wood's Project should take, it would ruin even our *Beggars*; for when I give a *Beggar* a *Half-penny*, it will quench his Thirst, or go a good Way to fill his Belly; but the twelfth Part of a *Half-penny* will do him no more Service, than if I should give him three Pins out of my Sleeve.

IN short, these *Half-pence* are like the accursed Thing, which, as the Scripture tells us, the Children of Israel were forbidden to touch. They will run about like the Plague, and destroy every one who lays his Hands upon them. I have heard Scholars talk of a Man who told the King that he had invented a Way to torment People, by putting them into a Bull of Brass with Fire under it. But the Prince put the Projector first into his Brazen Bull to make the Experiment. This very much resembles the Project of Mr. Wood; and the like of this may possibly be Mr. Wood's Fate, that the Brass he contrived to torment this Kingdom with, may prove his own Torment, and his Destruction at last.

N. B. THE Author of this Paper is informed, by Persons who have made it their Business to be exact

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in their Observations on the true Value of these *Half-pence*, that any Person may expect to get a Quart of *Twopenny-Ale* for *Thirty six* of them.

I DESIRE that all *Families* may keep this Paper carefully by them to refresh their Memories, whenever they shall have farther Notice of Mr. *Wood's* Half pence, or any other the like Imposture,



LETTER

LETTER II.

*A LETTER to Mr. Harding the Printer,
upon Occasion of a Paragraph in his News-
Paper of August the First, 1724, relating to
Mr. Wood's Half-pence.*

IN your News-Letter of the first Instant there is a Paragraph, dated from *London*, *July 25th*, relating to *Wood's Half-pence*; whereby it is plain, what I foretold in my *Letter to the Shopkeepers, &c.* that this vile Fellow would never be at rest; and that the Danger of our Ruin approaches nearer; and therefore the Kingdom requires *new and fresh Warning*. However, I take that Paragraph to be, in a great measure, an Imposition upon the Publick; at least I hope so, because I am informed that *Wood* is generally his own News-writer, I cannot but observe from that Paragraph, that this public Enemy of ours, not satisfied to ruin us with his *Trash*, takes every Occasion to treat this Kingdom with the utmost Contempt. He represents *several of our Merchants and Traders*, upon Examination before a Committee of Council, agreeing that *there was the utmost Necessity of Copper Money here, before his Patent*; so that *several Gentlemen have been forced to tally with their Workmen, and give them bits of Cards sealed and subscribed with their Names*. What then? If a Physician prescribe to a Patient a *Dram of Physick*,

shall a Rascal-Apothecary cram him with a *Pound*, and mix it up with *Poison*? And is not a Landlord's Hand and Seal to his own Labourers a better Security for five or ten Shillings than *Wood's* Brass, ten Times below the real Value, can be to the Kingdom for an hundred and eight thousand Pounds?

BUT who are these *Merchants and Traders* of Ireland that make this Report of *the utmost Necessity we are under for Copper Money*? They are only a few Betrayers of their Country, Confederates with *Wood*, from whom they are to purchase a great Quantity of his Coin, perhaps at half the Price that we are to take it, and vend it among us, to the Ruin of the Publick, and their own private Advantages. Are not these excellent Witnesses, upon whose Integrity the Fate of a Kingdom must depend, who are Evidences in their own Cause, and Sharers in this Work of Iniquity?

IF we could have deserved the Liberty of coining for ourselves, as we formerly did, and why we have it not, is every Body's Wonder as well as mine, ten thousand Pounds might have been coined here in *Dublin* of only one fifth below the intrinsic Value, and this Sum, with the Stock of Half-pence we then had, would have been sufficient: But *Wood*, by his Emissaries, Enemies to God and this Kingdom, hath taken care to buy up as many of our old Half-pence as he could; and from thence the present Want of Change arises; to remove which by Mr. *Wood's* Remedy, would be to cure a Scratch on the Finger by cutting off the Arm. But supposing there were not one Farthing of Change in the whole Nation, I will maintain, that five and twenty thousand Pounds would be a Sum fully sufficient to answer all our Occasions. I am no inconsiderable Shopkeeper in this
Town,

Town, I have discoursed with several of my own, and other Trades, with many Gentlemen both of City and Country, and also with great Numbers of Farmers, Cottagers, and Labourers, who all agree, that two Shillings in Change for every Family would be more than necessary in all Dealings. Now, by the largest Computation (even before that grievous Discouragement of *Agriculture*, which hath so much lessened our Numbers) the Souls in this Kingdom are computed to be one Million and a half; which, allowing six to a Family, makes two hundred and fifty thousand Families, and consequently two Shillings to each Family will amount only to Five and twenty thousand Pounds; whereas this *honest, liberal, Hard Ware-Man, Wood*, would impose upon us above *four times* that Sum.

YOUR Paragraph relates further, that Sir *Isaac Newton* reported an *Assay* taken at the *Tower of Wood's Metal*; by which it appears, that *Wood* had, *in all respects, performed his Contract*. His Contract! With whom, Was it with the Parliament or People of *Ireland*? Are not they to be the Purchasers? But they detest, abhor, and reject it, as corrupt, fraudulent, mingled with Dirt and Trash. Upon which he grows angry, goes to Law, and will impose his Goods upon us by force.

BUT your News-Letter says, that an *Assay* was made of the Coin. How impudent and insupportable is this! *Wood* takes care to coin a Dozen or two Half-pence of good Metal, sends them to the *Tower*, and they are approved, and these must answer all that he hath already coined, or shall coin for the future. It is true, indeed, that a Gentleman often sends to my Shop for a Pattern of Stuff; I cut it fairly off, and, if he likes it, he comes, or sends, and compares

compares the *Pattern* with the whole piece, and probably we come to a Bargain. But if I were to buy an hundred sheep, and the Grazier should bring me one single Weather fat and well fleec'd, by way of *Pattern*, and expect the same Price round for the whole hundred, without suffering me to see them before he was paid, or giving me good Security to restore my Money for those that were *lean*, or *sporn*, or *scabby*, I would be none of his Customer. I have heard of a Man who had a Mind to sell his House, and therefore carried a Piece of *Brick* in his Pocket, which he shewed as a *Pattern* to encourage Purchasers; and this is directly the Case in point with Mr. *Wood's Assay*.

THE next Part of the Paragraph contains Mr. *Wood's* voluntary Proposals for preventing any further Objections or Apprehensions.

His first proposal is, That *whereas he hath already coined seventeen thousand Pounds, and has Copper prepared to make it up forty thousand Pounds, he will be content to coin no more, unless the EXIGENCIES OF TRADE REQUIRE IT, although his Patent empowers him to coin a far greater quantity.*

To which, if I were to answer, it should be thus: Let Mr. *Wood*, and his Crew of *Founders* and *Tinkers*, coin on, till there is not an old Kettle left in the Kingdom; let them coin old Leather, Tobacco-Pipe-Clay, or the Dirt in the Streets, and call their Trumpery by what name they please, from a Guinea to a farthing, we are not under any Concern to know how he and his Tribe of Accomplices think fit to employ themselves. But I hope, and trust, that we are all to a Man fully determined to have nothing to do with him or his Ware.

THE King has given him a Patent to coin Half-pence, but hath not obliged us to take them; and I have already shewn in my *Letter to the Shopkeepers, &c.* that the Law hath not left it in the Power of the *Privilege* to compel the Subject to take any Money, besides Gold and Silver, of the right Sterling and Standard.

Wood further proposes, (if I understand him right, for his Expressions are dubious) that *he will not coin above forty thousand Pounds, unless the Exigencies of Trade require it.* First, I observe that this Sum of *forty thousand Pounds* is almost double to what I proved to be sufficient for the whole Kingdom, although we had not one of our old Half-pence left. Again, I ask, Who is to be judge when the *Exigencies of Trade require it*? Without doubt he means himself; for as to us of this poor Kingdom, who must be utterly ruined if this Project should succeed, we were never *once* consulted till the Matter was over, and he will judge of our *Exigencies* by his own; neither will these be ever at an End, till he and his Accomplices will think they have enough: And it now appears that he will not be content with all our Gold and Silver, but intends to buy up our Goods and Manufactures with the same Coin.

I shall not enter into Examination of the Prices for which he now proposes to sell his Half-pence, or what he calls his Copper, by the Pound; I have said enough of it in my former Letter, and it hath likewise been considered by others. It is certain, that, by his own first Computation, we were to pay three Shillings for what was intrinsically worth but one, although it had been of the true Weight and Standard for which he pretended to have contracted; but there is so great a Difference, both in Weight and
Badness

Badness in several of his Coins, that some of them have been nine in ten below the intrinsic Value, and most of them six or seven.

HIS last Proposal being of a peculiar Strain and Nature, deserves to be very particularly considered, both on account of the Matter and the Style. It is as follows:

LASTLY, *In Consideration of the direful Apprehensions which prevail in Ireland, that Mr. Wood will, by such Coinage, drain them of their Gold and Silver; he proposes to take their Manufactures in Exchange, and that no Person be obliged to receive more than Five pence Half-penny at one Payment.*

FIRST, Observe this little impudent *Hard-ware-man* turning into Ridicule, *the direful Apprehensions of a whole Kingdom*, priding himself as the Cause of them, and daring to prescribe what no King of *England* ever attempted, how far a whole Nation shall be obliged to take his Brass Coin. And he has Reason to insult; for sure there was never an Example in History, of a great Kingdom kept in Awe for above a Year, in daily Dread of utter Destruction, not by a powerful Invader at the Head of twenty thousand Men; not by a Plague or a Famine; not by a tyrannical Prince (for we never had one more Gracious) or a corrupt Administration, but by one single, diminutive, insignificant Mechanick.

BUT to go on: To remove our *direful Apprehensions*, *that he will drain us of our Gold and Silver by his Coinage*, this little arbitrary *Mock Monarch* most graciously offers to take our *Manufactures in Exchange*. Are our *Irish* Understandings indeed so low in his Opinion? Is not this the very Misery we complain of? That his cursed Project will put us under the Necessity of selling our Goods for what is equal to

Nothing?

Nothing? How would such a Proposal sound from *France* or *Spain*, or any other Country with which we traffick, if they should offer to deal with us only upon this Condition, that we should take their Money at ten times higher than the intrinsic Value? Does Mr. *Wood* think, for Instance, that we will sell him a Stone of Wool for a Parcel of his *Counters* not worth *Six-pence*, when we can send it to *England*, and receive as many Shillings in Gold and Silver? Surely there was never heard such a Compound of Impudence, Villany, and Folly.

His Proposals conclude with perfect *High-Treason*. He promises, that *no Person shall be obliged to receive more than Five-pence Half-penny of his Coin in one Payment*. By which it is plain, that he pretends to oblige every Subject in this Kingdom to take so much in every Payment, if it be offered; whereas his Patent obliges no Man, nor can the Prerogative, by Law, claim such a Power, as I have often observed; so that here Mr. *Wood* takes upon him the *Entire Legislature*, and an absolute Dominion over the Properties of the whole Nation.

GOOD GOD! Who are this Wretch's *Advisers*? Who are his *Supporters*, *Abettors*, *Encouragers*, or *Sharers*? Mr. *Wood* will oblige me to take Five-pence Half-penny of his Brads in every Payment. And I will shoot Mr. *Wood*, and his Deputies, through the Head, like *Highwaymen*, or *House-breakers*, if they dare to force one Farthing of their Coin on me in the Payment of an hundred Pounds. It is no Loss of Honour to submit to the *Lion*; but who, with the Figure of a *Man*, can think, with Patience, of being devoured alive by a *Rat*? He has laid a Tax upon the People of *Ireland* of seventeen Shillings at least in the Pound: A Tax, I say, not only upon Lands, but

but Interest-Money, Goods, Manufactures, the Hire of Handicraftsmen, Labourers, and Servants, Shopkeepers look to yourselves; *Wood* will oblige and force you to take Five-pence Half-penny of his Trash in every Payment; and many of you receive twenty, thirty, forty Payments in one Day, or else you can hardly find Bread: And pray consider how much that will amount to in a Year; twenty times Five-pence Half-penny is nine Shillings and Two-pence, which is above an hundred and sixty Pounds a Year; whereby you will be Losers of at least one hundred and forty Pounds, by taking your Payments in his Money. If any of you be content to deal with Mr. *Wood* on such Conditions, they may; but, for my own particular, *let his Money perish with him*. If the famous Mr. *Hambden* rather chose to go to Prison, than pay a few Shillings to King *Charles I.* without Authority of Parliament; I will rather chuse to be *hanged* than have all my Substance taxed at seventeen Shillings in the Pound, at the arbitrary Will and Pleasure of the venerable Mr. *Wood*.

THE Paragraph concludes thus: N. B. (that is to say, *Nota Bene*, or *Mark well*) *No Evidence appeared from Ireland, or elsewhere, to prove the Mischiefs complained of, or any Abuses whatsoever committed in the Execution of the said Grant.*

THE Impudence of this Remark exceeds all that went before. First, the House of Commons in *Ireland*, which represents the whole People of the Kingdom; and, Secondly, the Privy-Council addressed His Majesty against these Half-pence: What could be done more to express the universal Sense of the Nation? If his Copper were Diamonds, and the Kingdom were entirely against it, would not that be sufficient to reject it? Must a Committee of the whole

whole House of Commons, and our whole Privy-Council, go over to argue *Pro* and *Con* with Mr. *Wood*? To what end did the King give his Patent for coining Half-pence in *Ireland*? Was it not, because it was represented to His Sacred Majesty, that such a Coinage would be of Advantage to the Good of this Kingdom, and of all his Subjects here? It is to the Patentee's Peril, if his representation be false, and the Execution of his Patent be fraudulent and corrupt. Is he so wicked and foolish to think that his Patent was given him to ruin a Million and a half of People, that he might be a Gainer of three or fourscore thousand Pounds to himself? Before he was at the Charge of passing a Patent, much more of raking up so much filthy Dross, and stamping it with His Majesty's *Image and Superscription*; should he not first, in common Sense, in common Equity, and common Manners, have consulted the principal Party concerned; that is to say, the People of the Kingdom, the House of Lords, or Commons, or the Privy-Council? If any Foreigner should ask us, *Whose Image and Superscription* there is on *Wood's* Coin? we should be ashamed to tell him, it was *Cæsar's*. In that great Want of Copper Half-pence, which he alledges we were, our City set up *our Cæsar's* Statue in excellent Copper, at an Expence that is equal in Value to thirty thousand Pound of his Coin; and we will not receive his Image in worse Metal.

I observe many of our People putting a melancholy Face on this Subject. It is true, say they, we are all undone, if *Wood's* Half-pence must pass; but what shall we do, if His Majesty puts out a *Proclamation* commanding us to take them? This hath been often dunned in my Ears. But I desire my
Country-

Countrymen to be assured that there is nothing in it. The King never issues out a *Proclamation* but to enjoin what the Law permits him. He will not issue out a *Proclamation* against *Law*; or if such a Thing should happen by a Mistake, we are no more obliged to obey it than to run our Heads into the Fire. Besides, His Majesty will never command us by a *Proclamation*, what he does not offer to command us in the *Patent* itself. There he leaves it to our Discretion; so that our Destruction must be entirely owing to ourselves. Therefore let no Man be afraid of a *Proclamation*, which will never be granted; and if it should, yet, upon this Occasion, will be of no Force. The King's Revenues here are near four hundred thousand Pounds a Year. Can you think his Ministers will advise him to take them in *Wood's* Brass, which will reduce the Value to fifty thousand Pounds? *England* gets a Million *Sterling* by this Nation; which, if this Project goes on, will be almost reduced to nothing: And do you think those who live in *England* upon *Irish* Estates, will be content to take an eighth or a tenth Part, by being paid in *Wood's* Dross.

IF *Wood*, and his *Confederates*, were not convinced of our Stupidity, they never would have attempted so audacious an Enterprize. He now sees a Spirit hath been raised against him, and he only watches till it begins to flag; he goes about watching when to devour us. He hopes we shall be weary of contending with him; and at last, out of Ignorance, or Fear, or of being perfectly tired with Opposition, we shall be forced to yield. And therefore, I confess, it is my chief Endeavour to keep up your Spirits and Resentments. If I tell you there is a Precipice under you, and that if you go forwards you will

will certainly break your Necks; if I point to it before your Eyes, must I be at the Trouble of repeating it every Morning? Are our People's *Hearts waxed gross*? Are their *Ears dull of Hearing*, and have they closed their Eyes? I fear there are some few *Vipers* among us, who, for ten or twenty Pounds Gain, would sell their Souls and their Country; although, at last, it should end in their own Ruin, as well as ours. But not like the *deaf Adder*, who refuses to bear the Voice of the *Charmer*, *charm* he never so wisely.

ALTHOUGH my Letter be directed to you, Mr. *Harding*, yet I intend it for all my Countrymen. I have no Interest in this Affair, but what is common to the Publick: I can live better than many others: I have some Gold and Silver by me, and a Shop well furnished; and shall be able to make a Shift when many of my Betters are starving. But I am grieved to see the Coldness and Indifference of many People with whom I discourse. Some are afraid of a *Proclamation*, others shrug up their Shoulders, and cry, What would you have us do? Some give out, there is no Danger at all; others are comforted, that it will be a common Calamity; and they shall fare no worse than their Neighbours. Will a Man, who hears Midnight Robbers at his Door, get out of Bed, and raise his Family, for a common Defence; and shall a whole Kingdom lie in a Lethargy, while Mr. *Wood* comes, at the Head of his *Confederates*, to rob them of all they have, to ruin us and our Posterity, for ever? If any Highwayman meets you on the Road, you give him your Money to save your Life; but, God be thanked, Mr. *Wood* cannot touch a Hair of your Heads. You have all the Laws of God and Man on your Side: When he, or his Accomplices, offer you his Dross, it is but saying *No*;

and you are safe. If a mad Man should come into my Shop with a handful of Dirt raked out of the Kennel, and offer it in Payment of ten Yards of Stuff, I would pity, or laugh at him; or, if his Behaviour deserved it, kick him out of my Doors. And if Mr. *Wood* comes to demand my Gold or Silver, or Commodities for which I have paid my Gold and Silver, in Exchange for his Trash, can he deserve or expect better Treatment?

WHEN the *evil Day* is come (if it must come) let us mark and observe those who presume to offer these Half-pence in Payment. Let their Names, and Trades, and Places of Abode, be made publick, that every one may be aware of them, as Betrayers of their Country, and Confederates with Mr. *Wood*. Let them be watched at Markets and Fairs; and let the first honest Discoverer give the Word about, that Mr. *Wood's* Half-pence have been offered, and caution the poor innocent People not to receive them.

PERHAPS I have been too tedious; but there would never be an End, if I attempted to say all that this melancholy Subject will bear. I will conclude with humbly offering one Proposal; which, if it were put in Practice, would blow up this destructive Project at once. Let some judicious, skilful Pen draw up an *Advertisement* to the following Purpose:

WHEREAS one William Wood, *Hard-ware man*, now, or lately, sojourning in the City of London, hath, by many Misrepresentations, procured a Patent for coining an hundred and eight thousand Pounds in Copper Half-pence for this Kingdom; which is a Sum five Times greater than our Occasions require. And whereas it is notorious, that the said Wood hath coined his Half-pence of such base Metal, and false Weight, that they are, at least, six Parts in seven below the real Value.

Value. And whereas we have Reason to apprehend, that the said Wood may, at any Time hereafter, clandestinely coin as many more Half-pence as he pleases: And whereas the said Patent neither doth, nor can oblige His Majesty's Subjects to receive the said Half-pence in any Payment, but leaves it to their voluntary Choice; because, by Law, the Subject cannot be obliged to take any Money, except Gold or Silver. And whereas, contrary to the Letter and Meaning of the said Patent, the said Wood hath declared, that every Person shall be obliged to take Five pence Half-penny of his Coin in every Payment. And whereas the House of Commons, and Privy-Council, have severally addressed his most Sacred Majesty, representing the ill Consequences which the said Coinage may have upon this Kingdom. And, lastly, whereas it is universally agreed, that the whole Nation, to a Man, (except Mr. Wood, and his Confederates) are in the utmost Apprehensions of the ruinous Consequences that must follow from the said Coinage. Therefore we, whose Names are under-written, being Persons of considerable Estates in this Kingdom, and Residers therein, do unanimously resolve and declare, that we will never receive one Farthing or Half-penny of the said Wood's coining; and that we will direct all our Tenants to refuse the said Coin from any Person whatsoever; of which, that they may not be ignorant, we have sent them a Copy of this Advertisment, to be read to them by our Stewards, Receivers, &c.

I could wish that a Paper of this Nature might be drawn up, and signed by two or three hundred principal Gentlemen of this Kingdom; and printed Copies thereof sent to their several Tenants. I am deceived if any thing could sooner defeat this execrable Design of Wood, and his Accomplices. This

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would immediately give the Alarm, and set the Kingdom on their Guard; this would give Courage to the meanest Tenant and Cottager. *How long, O Lord, righteous and true, &c.*

I must tell you in particular, Mr. *Harding*, that you are much to blame. Several hundred Persons have enquired at your House for my *Letter to the Shopkeepers, &c.* and you had none to sell them. Pray keep yourself provided with that Letter, and with this: You have got very well by the former; but I did not then write for your Sake, any more than I do now. Pray advertise both in every News-Paper; and let it not be your Fault or mine, if our Countrymen will not take Warning. I desire you likewise to sell them as cheap as you can.

I am your Servant,

M. B.

Aug. 4, 1724.



LET-

L E T T E R I I I .

Some OBSERVATIONS upon a Paper
called *The Report of the Committee of the most
Honourable the Privy-Council in England, re-
lating to Wood's Half-pence.*

To the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom of
I R E L A N D .

HAVING already written *two Letters* to the
People of my own Level and Condition, and
having now very pressing Occasion for writing a
third ; I thought I could not more properly address
it than to your *Lordships and Worships.*

THE Occasion is this : A printed Paper was sent
to me on the 18th Instant, entitled, *A Report of
the Committee of the Lords of his Majesty's most Ho-
nourable Privy-Council in England relating to Mr.
Wood's Half-pence and Farthings.* There is no Men-
tion made where the Paper was printed ; but I sup-
pose it to have been in *Dublin* : And I have been
told, that the Copy did not come over in the *Ga-
zette*, but in the *London Journal*, or some other Print
of no Authority or Consequence. And, for any
thing that legally appears to the contrary, it may
be a Contrivance to *fright* us ; or a *Project* of some
Printer, who hath a Mind to make a Penny, by
publishing something upon a Subject, which now

employs all our Thoughts in this Kingdom. Mr. Wood, in publishing this Paper, would insinuate to the World, as if the Committee had a greater Concern for his Credit, and private Emolument, than for the Honour of the *Privy Council*, and both Houses of Parliament here, and for the Quiet and Welfare of this whole Kingdom; for it seems intended a Vindication of Mr. Wood, not without several severe Reflections on the Houses of Lords and Commons of Ireland.

THE whole is indeed written with the Turn and Air of a Pamphlet; as if it were a dispute between William Wood, on the one Part, and the Lords Justices, Privy Council, and both Houses of Parliament on the other: The Design of it being to clear William Wood, and to charge the other Side with casting rash and groundless Aspersions upon him.

BUT if it be really what the Title imports, Mr. Wood hath treated the Committee with great Rudeness, by publishing an Act of theirs in so unbecoming a Manner, without their Leave, and before it was communicated to the Government and Privy Council of Ireland; to whom the Committee advised that it should be transmitted. But, with all Deference be it spoken, I do not conceive that a Report of a Committee of the Council in England is hitherto a Law in either Kingdom; and, until any Point is determined to be a Law, it remains disputable by every Subject.

THIS (may it please your Lordships and Worships) may seem a strange way of discoursing in an illiterate Shopkeeper. I have endeavoured (although without the Help of Books) to improve that small Portion of Reason which God hath been pleaseth to give me; and, when Reason plainly appears before me, I cannot turn away my Head from it. Thus,
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for Instance, if any Lawyer should tell me that such a Point were Law, from which many gross, palpable Absurdities must follow ; I would not, I could not believe him. If Sir *Edward Coke* should positively assert, (which he no where does, but the direct contrary) that a *limited Prince* could, by his *Prerogative*, oblige his Subjects to take half an Ounce of Lead, stamped with his Image, for twenty Shillings in Gold, I should swear he was *deceived*, or a *Deceiver* ; because a Power like that would leave the whole Lives and Fortunes of the People entirely at the Mercy of the Monarch ; yet this in Effect, is what *Wood* hath advanced in some of his Papers ; and what suspicious People may possibly apprehend from some Passages in that which is called the *Report*.

THAT Paper mentions *such Persons to have been examined, who were desirous and willing to be heard upon this Subject*. I am told they were four in all, *Coleby, B——*, Mr. *Finley* the Banker, and one more, whose Name I know not. The first of these was tried for robbing the Treasury in *Ireland* : and, although he was acquitted for Want of legal Proof, yet every Person in the Court believed him to be guilty.

BUT, since I have gone so far as to mention particular Persons, it may be some Satisfaction to know who is this *Wood* himself, that has the Honour to have a whole Kingdom at his Mercy for almost two Years together. I find he is, in the Patent, entitled *Esquire*, although he were understood to be only a *Hard-ware-man* ; and so I have been bold to call him in my former Letters ; however, a *Squire* he is, not only by Virtue of his Patent, but by having been a Collector in *Shropshire* ; where, pretending to

have been robbed, and suing the County, he was cast, and for the Infamy of the Fact, lost his Employment.

I have heard another Story of this 'Squire *Wood*, from a very honourable Lady, that one *Hamilton* told her. *Hamilton* was sent for, six Years ago, by Sir *Isaac Newton* to try the Coinage of four Men, who then solicited a Patent for coining Half-pence for Ireland; their Names were *Wood*, *Coffor*, *Elliston*, and *Parker*. *Parker* made the fairest Offer, and *Wood* the worst; for his Coin were three Half-pence in a Pound Weight less Value than the other. By which it is plain, with what Intentions he solicited his Patent; but not so plain how he obtained it.

It is alledged, in the said Paper called the *Report*, that upon repeated Orders from a Secretary of State for sending over such Papers and Witnesses as should be thought proper to support the Objections made against the Patent (by both Houses of Parliament;) the Lord Lieutenant represented the great Difficulty he found himself in, to comply with these Orders: That none of the principal Members of both Houses who were in the King's Service, or Council, would take upon them to advise how any material Person, or Papers, might be sent over on this Occasion, &c. And this is often repeated, and represented as a Proceeding that seems very extraordinary; and that in a Matter which had raised so great a Clamour in Ireland, no one Person could be prevailed upon to come over from Ireland, in Support of the united Sense of both Houses of Parliament in Ireland; especially that the chief Difficulty should arise from a general Apprehension of a Miscarriage, in an Enquiry before his Majesty, or in a Proceeding by due Course of Law, in a Case where both Houses of Parliament had declared themselves so
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fully convinced, and satisfied upon Evidence, and Examinations taken in the most solemn Manner.

How shall I, a poor ignorant Shopkeeper, utterly unskilled in Law, be able to answer so weighty an Objection? I will try what can be done by plain Reason, unassisted by Art, Cunning, or Eloquence.

IN my humble Opinion the Committee of Council hath already prejudged the whole Case, by calling the united Sense of both *Houses of Parliament in Ireland*, an *universal Clamour*. Here the Addresses of the Lords and Commons of *Ireland* against a ruinous, destructive Project of an *obscure, single Undertaker*, is called a *Clamour*. I desire to know how such a Style would be resented in *England*, from a Committee of Council there to a Parliament; and how many *Impeachments* would follow upon it? But supposing the Appellation to be proper, I never heard of a wise Minister, who despised the *universal Clamour* of a People; and if that *Clamour* can be quieted by disappointing the fraudulent Practice of a single Person, the Purchase is not exorbitant.

BUT in Answer to this Objection: First, it is manifest, that if this Coinage had been in *Ireland*, with such Limitations as have been formerly specified in other Patents, and granted to Persons of this *Kingdom*, or even of *England*, able to give sufficient Security, few or no Inconveniencies could have happened, which might not have been immediately remedied. As to Mr. *Knox's* Patent, mentioned in the *Report*, Security was given into the *Exchequer*, that the *Patentee* should, upon all Demands, be obliged to receive his *Half-pence* back, and pay Gold or Silver in Exchange for them. And Mr. *Moor* (to whom, I suppose, that Patent was made over) was,
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in 1694, forced to leave off coining before the End of that Year, by the great Crouds of People continually offering to return his Coinage upon him. In 1698 he coined again, and was forced to give over for the same Reason. This entirely alters the Case; for there is no such Condition in *Wood's* Patent; which Condition was worth a hundred times all other Limitations whatsoever.

PUR the Case, that the two Houses of *Lords* and *Commons* of *England*, and the *Privy Council* there, should address His Majesty to recal a *Patent*, from whence they apprehended the most ruinous Consequences to the whole Kingdom; and, to make it stronger if possible, that the whole Nation, almost to a Man, should thereupon discover the *most dismal Apprehensions* (as Mr. *Wood* styles them;) would His Majesty debate half an Hour what he had to do? Would any Minister dare advise him against recalling such a *Patent*? Or would the Matter be referred to the *Privy-Council*, or to *Westminster-Hall*; the two Houses of *Parliament* Plaintiffs, and *William Wood* Defendant? And is there even the smallest Difference between the two Cases?

WERE not the People of *Ireland* born as free as those of *England*? How have they forfeited their Freedom? Is not their *Parliament* as fair a *Representative* of the *People* as that of *England*? And hath not their *Privy-Council* as great, or a greater Share in the Administration of publick Affairs? Are not they Subjects of the same King? Does not the same *Sun* shine upon them? And have they not the same *God* for their Protector? Am I a *Freeman* in *England*, and do I become a *Slave* in six Hours, by crossing the Channel? No wonder then if the boldest Persons were cautious to interpose in a Matter already

ready determined by the whole Voice of the Nation; or to presume to represent the Representatives of the Kingdom; and were justly apprehensive of meeting such a Treatment as they would deserve, at the next Session. It would seem very extraordinary if an inferior Court in *England* should take a Matter out of the Hands of the High Court of Parliament, during a Prorogation, and decide it against the Opinion of both Houses.

It happens, however, that, although no Persons were so bold as to go over as Evidences, to prove the Truth of the Objections made against this *Patent* by the *High Court of Parliament* here, yet these Objections stand good, notwithstanding the Answers made by Mr. *Wood* and his Council.

THE Report says, that, upon an *Assay* made of the Fineness, Weight, and Value of this Copper, it exceeded in every Article. This is possible enough in the Pieces upon which the *Assay* was made; but *Wood* must have failed very much in point of Dexterity, if he had not taken Care to provide a sufficient Quantity of such *Half-pence* as would bear the Trial; which he was well able to do, although they were taken out of several *Parcels*; since it is now plain, that the Bias of Favour hath been wholly on his Side.

BUT what need is there of disputing, when we have a positive Demonstration of *Wood's* fraudulent Practices in this point. I have seen a large Quantity of these *Half-pence* weighed by a very skilful Person, which were of four different Kinds, three of them considerably under Weight. I have now before me an exact Computation of the Difference of Weight between these four Sorts; by which it appears, that the fourth Sort, or the lightest, differs from the first

to a Degree, that, in the Coinage of three hundred and sixty Tons of Copper, the *Patentee* will be a Gainer, only by that Difference, of twenty four thousand four hundred and ninety four Pounds; and, in the whole, the Publick will be a Loser of eighty two thousand one hundred and sixty eight Pounds, sixteen Shillings, even supposing the Metal, in point of Goodness, to answer *Wood's* Contract, and the *Affay* that hath been made, which it infallibly doth not. For this Point hath likewise been enquired into by very experienced Men; who, upon several Trials on many of these *Half-pence*, have found them to be at least one fourth part below the real Value, not including the *Raps* or *Counterfeits* that he, or his *Accomplices*, have already made of *his own Coin*, and scattered about. Now the Coinage of three hundred and sixty Tons of Copper, coined by the Weight of the fourth, or lightest Sort of his *Half-pence*, will amount to one hundred twenty two thousand four hundred eighty eight Pounds, sixteen Shillings; and, if we subtract a fourth part of the real Value by the *base Mixture* in the Metal, we must add to the publick Loss one fourth part, to be subtracted from the intrinsic Value of the Copper; which, in three hundred and sixty Tons, amounts to ten thousand and eighty Pounds; and this, added to the former Sum of eighty two thousand one hundred sixty eight Pounds, sixteen Shillings, will make in all, ninety two thousand two hundred forty eight Pounds Loss to the Publick; besides the *Raps* or *Counterfeits* that he may, at any Time hereafter, think fit to coin. Nor do I know whether he reckons the *Dross* exclusive or inclusive with his three hundred and sixty Tons of Copper; which, however, will make a considerable Difference in the Account,

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You will here please to observe, that the Profit allowed to *Wood* by the Patent, is Twelve pence out of every Pound of Copper, valued at 1 s. 6 d. whereas 5 d. only is allowed for Coinage of a Pound Weight for the *English Half-pence*; and this Difference is almost 25 per Cent. which is double to the highest Exchange of Money, even under all the additional Pressures, and Obstructions to Trade, that this unhappy Kingdom lies at present. This one Circumstance, in the Coinage of Three hundred and sixty Tons of Copper, makes a Difference of twenty seven thousand seven hundred and twenty Pounds, between *English* and *Irish Half-pence*, even allowing those of *Wood* to be all of the heaviest sort.

It is likewise to be considered, that, for every *Half-penny* in a Pound Weight, exceeding the Number directed by the Patent, *Wood* will be a Gainer, in the Coinage of three hundred and sixty Ton of Copper, sixteen hundred and eighty Pounds Profit more than the Patent allows him; out of which he may afford to make his *Comptrollers easy* upon that Article.

As to what is alledged, that *these Half-pence far exceed the like Coinage for Ireland in the Reigns of His Majesty's Predecessors*: There cannot well be a more exceptionable Way of arguing, although the Fact were true; which, however, is altogether mistaken; not by any Fault in the Committee, but by the Fraud and Imposition of *Wood*, who certainly produced the worst Patterns he could find; such as were coined in small Numbers by *Permissions to private Men*, as *Butchers Half-pence*, *Black-Dogs*, and the like; or, perhaps, the small *St. Patrick's Coin*, which passeth now for a Farthing, or, at best, some of the smallest *Raps* of the latest Kind. For I have

now by me some *Half-pence* coined in the Year 168c, by Virtue of the Patent granted to my Lord *Dartmouth*, which was renewed to *Knox*, and they are heavier by a ninth Part than those of *Wood*, and of much better Metal; and the great *St. Patrick's Half-pence* is yet larger than either.

BUT what is all this to the present Debate: If under the various Exigencies of former Times, by Wars, Rebellions, and Insurrections, the Kings of *England* were sometimes forced to pay their Armies here with mixt or base Money; GOD forbid that the Necessities of turbulent Times should be a Precedent for Times of Peace, and Order, and Settlement.

IN the Patent abovementioned, granted to Lord *Dartmouth*, in the Reign of King *Charles the Second*, and renewed to *Knox*, the Securities given in to the *Exchequer*, obliging the *Patentee* to receive his Money back upon every Demand, were an effectual Remedy against all Inconveniencies: And the *Copper was coined in our Kingdom*; so that we were in no Danger to purchase it with the Loss of all our Silver and Gold carried over to another; nor to be at the Trouble of going to *England* for the redressing any Abuse.

THAT the Kings of *England* have exercised their Prerogative of coining Copper for *Ireland*, and for *England*, is not the present Question: But (to speak in the Style of the *Report*) it would seem a little extraordinary, supposing a King should think fit to exercise his *Prerogative*, by coining Copper in *Ireland* to be current in *England*, without referring it to his Officers in that Kingdom, to be informed whether the Grant were reasonable, and whether the People desired it or no, and without regard to the Addresses of his Parliament against it. GOD forbid that so mean

mean a Man as I should meddle with the King's *Prerogative*: But I have heard very wise Men say, that the King's *Prerogative* is bounded and limited by the *Good and Welfare* of his *People*. I desire to know whether it be not understood and avowed, that the *Good of Ireland* was intended by that *Patent*? But *Ireland* is not consulted at all in the Matter; and, as soon as *Ireland* is informed of it, they declare against it, the *two Houses of Parliament*, and the *Privy-Council*, address His Majesty upon the Mischiefs apprehended by such a *Patent*. The *Privy-Council* in *England* take the Matter out of the *Parliament's* Cognizance; the *Good of the Kingdom* is dropt, and it is now determined, that Mr. *Wood* shall have the Power of ruining a whole Nation for his private Advantage.

I never can suppose, that such *Patents* as these were originally granted with a View of being a *Jobb*, for the Interest of a particular Person, to the Damage of the Publick. Whatever Profit must arise to the *Patentee*, was surely meant at best but as a secondary Motive; and since somebody must be a Gainer, the Choice of the Person was made either by Favour, or *something else*, or by the Pretence of Merit and Honesty: This Argument returns so often and strongly into my Head, that I cannot forbear frequently repeating it. Surely His Majesty, when he consented to the passing of this *Patent*, conceived he was doing an Act of Grace to his most loyal Subjects of *Ireland*, without any Regard to Mr. *Wood*, farther than as an *Instrument*: But the People of *Ireland* think this *Patent* (intended, no doubt, for their Good) to be a most intolerable Grievance; and therefore Mr. *Wood* can never succeed, without an open Avowal, that his Profit is preferred, not only
before

before the *Interest*, but the very *Safety* and *Being* of a great Kingdom; and a Kingdom distinguished for its Loyalty perhaps above all others upon Earth; not turned from its Duty by the *Jurisdiction* of the *House of Lords* abolished at a Stroke, by the *Hardships* of the *Act* of Navigation newly enforced, by all possible *Obstructions* in Trade, and by a hundred other Instances, enough to fill this Paper; nor was there ever among us the least Attempt towards an Insurrection in Favour of the *Pretender*. Therefore, whatever Justice a *free People* can claim, we have at least an *equal Title* to it with our Brethren in *England*; and whatever Grace a good Prince can bestow on the most *loyal Subjects*, we have Reason to expect it; neither has this Kingdom any way deserved to be sacrificed to one *single, rapacious, obscure, ignominious Projector*.

AMONG other Clauses mentioned in this *Patent*, to shew how advantageous it is to *Ireland*, there is one which seems to be of a *singular Nature*: That the *Patentee* shall be obliged, during his Term, to pay eight hundred Pounds a Year to the Crown, and two hundred Pounds a Year to the *Comptroller*. I have heard indeed that the King's Counsel do always consider, in the passing of a *Patent*, whether it will be of Advantage to the Crown; but I have likewise heard that it is at the same Time considered, whether passing of it may be injurious to any other Persons or Bodies politick? However, although the *Attorney* and *Solicitor* be Servants to the King, and therefore bound to consult His Majesty's Interest; yet I am under some Doubt, whether eight hundred Pounds a Year to the Crown would be equivalent to the Ruin of a Kingdom. It would be far better for us to have paid eight thousand Pounds a Year into His Majesty's
Coffers

Coffers, in the midst of all our Taxes (which, in proportion, are greater in this Kingdom than ever they were in *England*, even during the War) than purchase such an Addition to the Revenue at the Price of our *utter Undoing*.

BUT here it is plain, that fourteen thousand Pounds are to be paid by *Wood*, only as a *small, circumstantial* Charge for the Purchase of his *Patent*: What were his other *visible Costs* I know not, and what were his *latent*, is variously conjectured; but he must be surely a Man of some wonderful Merit. Hath he saved any other Kingdom at his own Expence, to give him a Title of re-imbursing himself by the *Destruction* of ours? Hath he discovered the *Longitude*, or the *universal Medicine*? No; but he hath found the *Philosopher's Stone* after a new Manner, by *debasing* of *Copper*, and resolving to force it upon us for *Gold*.

WHEN the two Houses represented to His Majesty, that this *Patent* to *Wood* was obtained in a *clandestine Manner*, surely the Committee could not think the Parliament would insinuate, that it had not passed in the common Forms, and run through every Office where Fees and Perquisites were due. They knew very well, that Persons in Places were no Enemies to Grants; and that the Officers of the Crown could not be kept in the dark. But the late * *Lord Lieutenant of Ireland* affirmed it was a *Secret* to him; and who will doubt of his *Veracity*, especially when he swore to a Person of Quality, from whom I had it, that *Ireland* should never be troubled with these *Half-pence*. It was a *Secret* to the People of *Ireland*, who were to be the *only Sufferers*; and those

* Duke of Grafton.

who best knew the State of the Kingdom, and were most able to advise in such an Affair, were wholly Strangers to it.

It is allowed by the *Report*, that this *Patent* was passed without the Knowledge of the Chief Governor, or Officers of *Ireland*: And it is there elaborately shewn, that *former Patents have passed in the same Manner*, and are good in *Law*. I shall not dispute the Legality of *Patents*, but am ready to suppose it in His Majesty's Power to grant a *Patent* for stamping round Bits of Copper to every Subject he hath. Therefore, to lay aside the point of *Law*, I would only put the Question, Whether, in *Reason* and *Justice*, it would not have been proper, in an Affair upon which the *Welfare of the Kingdom depends*, that the said Kingdom should have received timely Notice; and the Matter not be carried on between the *Patentee* and the *Officers of the Crown*, who were to be the only Gainers by it.

THE *Parliament*, who, in Matters of this Nature, are the most able and faithful Counsellors, did represent this Grant to be *destructive of Trade*, and *dangerous to the Properties of the People*: To which the only Answer is, That *the King hath a Prerogative to make such a Grant*.

It is asserted, that, in the *Patent to Knox*, his *Half-pence are made and declared the current Coin of the Kingdom*; whereas, in this to *Wood*, there is only a *Power given to issue them to such as will receive them*. The Authors of the *Report*, I think, do not affirm, that the King can, by *Law*, declare *any thing* to be current Money, by his Letters Patents. I dare say they will not affirm it; and if *Knox's Patent* contained in it Powers contrary to *Law*, why is it mentioned as a Precedent in his Majesty's *just and merciful*

ciful Reign? But although that Clause be not in *Wood's* Patent, yet possibly there are others, the Legality whereof may be equally doubted; and particularly that, whereby a *Power is given to William Wood to break into Houses in Search of any Coin made in Imitation of his.* This may perhaps be affirmed to be illegal and dangerous to the Liberty of the Subject; yet this is a *Precedent* taken from *Knox's* Patent, where the same Power is granted; and is a strong Instance what Uses may be sometimes made of *Precedents.*

BUT although, before the passing of this Patent, it was not thought necessary to consult any Persons of this Kingdom, or make the least Enquiry, whether Copper Money were wanting among us; yet now at length, when the Matter is over, when the Patent hath long passed, when *Wood* hath already coined seventeen thousand Pounds, and hath his Tools and Implements prepared to coin *six times* as much more, the Committee hath been pleased to make this Affair the Subject of Enquiry; *Wood* is permitted to produce his Evidences, which consist, as I have already observed, of four in Number, whereof *Coleby, B—,* and Mr. *Finley* the Banker, are three. And these were to prove, that Copper Money was extremely wanted in *Ireland.* The first had been out of the Kingdom almost twenty Years, from the Time that he was tried for *robbing the Treasury;* and therefore his *Knowledge* and *Credibility* are equal.

Mr. *Finley*, one of the other Witnesses, honestly confessed, that he was ignorant whether *Ireland* wanted Copper Money or no; but his whole Intention was, to buy a certain Quantity from *Wood* at a large *Discount,* and sell them as well as he could; by which

he hoped to get two or three thousand Pounds for himself.

BUT suppose there were not one single Half-penny of Copper Coin in this whole Kingdom (which Mr. Wood seems to intend, unless we will come to his Terms, as appears by employing his Emissaries to buy up our old ones, at a Penny in the Shilling more than they pass for) it could not be any *real Evil* to us, although it might be some *Inconvenience*. We have many Sorts of small Silver Coins, to which they are Strangers in *England*; such as the *French Three-pences, Four-pence Half-pennies, and Eight-pence Farthings*, the *Scotch Five-pences and Ten-pences*, besides their *Twenty-pences and Three and Four-pences*, by which we are able to make Change, to a Half-penny, of almost any Piece of Gold or Silver; and if we were driven to the Expedient of a *Sealed Card*, with the little Gold and Silver still remaining, it will, I suppose, be somewhat better than to have nothing left but *Wood's* adulterated Copper, which he is neither obliged by his *Patent*, nor HITHERTO able by his *Estate*, to make good.

THE *Report* farther tells us, it *must be admitted*, that *Letters Patents, under the Great Seal of Great Britain, for coining Copper-Money for Ireland, are legal and obligatory, a just and reasonable Exercise of His Majesty's Royal Prerogative, and in no Manner derogatory or invasive of any Liberty or Privilege of his Subjects of Ireland*. First, we desire to know, why His Majesty's *Prerogative* might not have been as well asserted, by passing his *Patent in Ireland*, and subjecting the several Conditions of the Contract to the Inspection of those who are only concerned, as was formerly done in the only *Precedents* for *Patents granted for coining for this Kingdom*, since the mixt
Money

Money in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, during the Difficulties of a Rebellion: Whereas now, upon the greatest Imposition that can possibly be practised, we must go to *England* with our Complaints; where it hath been, for some Time, the Fashion to think, and to affirm, that *we cannot be too hardly used*. Again, the *Report* says, that *such Patents are obligatory*. After long thinking, I am not able to find out what can possibly be meant here by this Word *obligatory*. This Patent of *Wood* neither *obligeth* him to utter his Coin, nor us to take it; or, if it did the latter, it would be so far void, because no Patent can *oblige* the Subject against Law; unless an illegal Patent passed in *one* Kingdom, can bind *another*, and not itself.

LASTLY, it is added, that *such Patents are in no manner derogatory, or invasive of any Liberty or Privilege of the King's Subjects of Ireland*. If this Proposition be true, as it is here laid down, without any Limitation, either expressed or implied; it must follow, that a King of *England* may, at any Time, coin Copper Money for *Ireland*, and oblige his Subjects here to take a Piece of Copper, under the Value of half a Farthing, for half a Crown, as was practised by the late King *James*; and even without that arbitrary Prince's Excuse, from the Necessity and Exigences of his Affairs. If this be in no manner *derogatory, nor invasive of any Liberties, or Privileges of the Subjects of Ireland*, it ought to have been expressed what our *Liberties and Privileges* are, and whether we have any at all; for, in specifying the Word *Ireland*, instead of saying *His Majesty's Subjects*, it would seem to insinuate, that we are not upon the same Foot with our Fellow-Subjects in *England*; which, however the Practice may have

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been, I hope will never be directly asserted; for I do not understand that *Poining's Act* deprived us of our *Liberty*, but only changed the Manner of passing Laws here; (which, however, was a Power most indirectly obtained) by leaving the Negative to the two Houses of Parliament. But, waving all Controversies relating to the Legislature, no Person, I believe, was ever so bold as to affirm, that the People of *Ireland* have not the same Title to the Benefits of the *Common Law* with the rest of his Majesty's Subjects; and therefore, whatever Liberties or Privileges the People of *England* enjoy by *common Law*, we of *Ireland* have the same; so that, in my humble Opinion, the Word *Ireland* standing in that Proposition, was, in the mildest Interpretation, a *Lapse of the Pen*.

THE Report farther asserts, that the *Precedents* are many, wherein Cases of great Importance to *Ireland*, and which immediately affected the Interests of that Kingdom; such as Warrants, Orders, and Directions, by the Authority of the King and his Predecessors, have been issued under the Royal Sign Manual, without any previous Reference or Advice of His Majesty's Officers of *Ireland*, which have always had their due Force, and have been punctually complied with, and obeyed. It may be so, and I am heartily sorry for it; because it may prove an eternal Source of Discontent. However, among all these *Precedents*, there is not one of a Patent for coining Money for *Ireland*.

THERE is nothing hath perplexed me more than this Doctrine of *Precedents*. If a Jobb is to be done, and, upon searching Records, you find it hath been done before, there will not want a Lawyer to justify the Legality of it by producing his *Precedents*; without ever considering the Motives and Circumstances that

that first introduced them; the Necessity, or Turbulence, or Iniquity of Times; the Corruptions of Ministers, or the arbitrary Disposition of the Prince then reigning. And I have been told, by Persons eminent in the Law, that the worst Actions which human Nature is capable of may be justified by the same Doctrine. How the first *Precedents* began of determining Cases of the highest Importance to *Ireland*, and immediately affecting its Interests, without any previous Reference or Advice to the King's Officers here, may soon be accounted for. Before this Kingdom was entirely reduced, by the Submission of *Tyrone*, in the last Year of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, there was a Period of four hundred Years, which was a various Scene of War and Peace between the *English* Pale and the *Irish* Natives; and the Government of that Part of this Island which lay in the *English* Hands, was, in many Things, under the immediate Administration of the King: Silver and Copper were often coined here among us; and once, at least, upon great Necessity, a mixt or base Metal was sent from *England*. The Reign of King *James I.* was employed in settling the Kingdom after *Tyrone's* Rebellion; and this Nation flourished extremely till the Time of the Massacre, 1641. In that difficult Juncture of Affairs the Nobility and Gentry coined their own Plate here in *Dublin*.

By all that I can discover, the Copper Coin of *Ireland*, for three hundred Years past, consisted of small Pence and Half-pence; which particular Men had Licence to coin, and were current only within certain Towns and Districts, according to the personal Credit of the Owner who uttered them, and was bound to receive them again; whereof I have seen many Sorts: Neither have I heard of any Patent

granted for coining Copper for *Ireland*, till the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, which was in the Year 1680, to *George Legg* Lord *Dartmouth*; and renewed by King *James* the Second, in the first Year of his Reign, to *John Knox*. Both Patents were passed in *Ireland*; and in both, the Patentees were bound to receive their Coin again from any that would offer them twenty Shillings of it, for which they were obliged to pay Gold or Silver.

THE Patents, both of Lord *Dartmouth* and *Knox*, were referred to the Attorney-General here, and a Report made accordingly; and both, as I have already said, were passed in this Kingdom. *Knox* had only a Patent for the Remainder of the Term granted to Lord *Dartmouth*; the Patent expired in 1701, and, upon a Petition by *Roger Moor* to have it renewed, the Matter was referred hither; and, upon the Report of the Attorney and Solicitor, that it was not for his Majesty's Service, or the Interest of the Nation to have it renewed, it was rejected by King *William*. It should therefore seem very extraordinary, that a Patent for coining Copper Half-pence, intended and professed for the Good of the Kingdom, should be passed without once consulting that Kingdom for the Good of which it is declared to be intended; and this upon the Application of a poor, private, obscure Mechanick; and a Patent of such a Nature, that, as soon as ever the Kingdom is informed of its being passed, they cry out unanimously against it, as ruinous and destructive. The Representatives of the Nation in Parliament, and the Privy-Council, address the King to have it recalled; yet the Patentee, such a one as I have described, shall prevail to have this Patent approved; and his private Interest shall weigh down the Application of a whole Kingdom.

dom. St. Paul says, *All Things* are lawful, but *all Things* are not expedient. We are answered, that this Patent is *lawful*; but is it *expedient*? We read, that the High Priest said, *It was expedient that one Man should die for the People*; and this was a most wicked Proposition. But that a *whole Nation* should die for *one Man*, was never heard of before.

BUT because much Weight is laid on the *Precedents* of other Patents for coining Copper for Ireland, I will set this Matter in as clear a Light as I can. Whoever hath read the *Report*, will be apt to think that a dozen *Precedents*, at least, could be produced of Copper coined for Ireland, by Virtue of Patents passed in England; and that the Coinage was there too; whereas, I am confident, there cannot be one *Precedent* shewn of a Patent passed in England for coining Copper for Ireland, for above an hundred Years past; and if there were any before, it must be in Times of Confusion. The only *Patents* I could ever hear of, are those already mentioned, to Lord Dartmouth and Knox, the former in 1680, and the latter in 1685. Now let us compare these Patents with that granted to Wood. First, the Patent to Knox, which was under the same Conditions as that granted to Lord Dartmouth was passed in Ireland; the Government, and the Attorney and Solicitor General making Report, that it would be useful to this Kingdom.

THE Patent was passed with the Advice of the King's Council here; the Patentee was obliged to receive his Coin from those who thought themselves surcharged, and to give Gold and Silver for it. Lastly, the Patentee was to pay only 16 l. 13 s. 4 d. per Annum to the Crown. Then, as to the Execution of that Patent: First, I find the Half-pence were mil-
led,

led; which, as it is of great Use to prevent Counterfeits, (and therefore industriously avoided by *Wood*,) so it was an Addition to the Charge of Coinage. And as for the Weight and Goodness of the Metal, I have several *Half-pence* now by me, many of which weigh a ninth Part more than those coined by *Wood*; and bear the Fire and Hammer a great deal better, and, which is no Trifle, the Impression fairer and deeper. I grant indeed, that many of the latter Coinage yield in Weight to some of *Wood's*, by a *Fraud* natural to such *Patentees*; but not so immediately after the Grant, and before the Coin grew current; for, in this Circumstance, Mr. *Wood* must serve for a *Precedent* in future Times.

LET us now examine this new Patent granted to *William Wood*. It passed upon very false Suggestions of his own and of a few Confederates: It passed in *England* without the least Reference hither; it passed unknown to the very Lord Lieutenant, then in *England*. *Wood* is impowered to coin one hundred and eight thousand Pounds, and all the Officers in the Kingdom (Civil and Military) are commanded in the Report to countenance and assist him. *Knox* had only Power to utter what he would take, and was obliged to receive his Coin back again at our Demand, and to enter into Security for so doing. *Wood's* Half-pence are not milled; and therefore more easily counterfeited by himself, as well as by others. *Wood* pays a thousand Pounds *per Annum* for fourteen Years; *Knox* paid only sixteen Pounds thirteen Shillings and four-pence *per Annum* for twenty one Years.

It was the Report that set me the Example of making a Comparison between those two Patents, wherein the Committee was grossly misled by the false Representation of *William Wood*; as it was by another

another Assertion, that seven hundred Tons of Copper were coined during the twenty-one Years of Lord *Dartmouth's* and *Knox's* Patents. Such a Quantity of Copper, at the Rate of two Shillings and eight Pence *per* Pound, would amount to about an hundred and ninety thousand Pounds; which was very near as much as the current Cash of the Kingdom in those Days; yet during that Period, *Ireland* was never known to have too much Copper Coin; and, for several Years, there was no coining at all: Besides, I am assured, that, upon enquiring into the Custom-house-books, all the Copper imported into this Kingdom, from 1683 to 1692, which includes eight Years of the twenty-one (besides one Year allowed for the Troubles) did not exceed forty seven Tons. And we cannot suppose even that small Quantity to have been wholly applied to Coinage: So that I believe there was never any Comparison more unluckily made, or so destructive of the Design for which it was produced.

THE *Psalmist* reckons it an Effect of God's Anger, when *he selleth his People for Nought, and taketh no Money for them*. That we have greatly offended GOD, by the Wickedness of our Lives, is not to be disputed: But our KING we have not offended in Word or Deed; and although he be GOD's Vicegerent upon Earth, he will not punish us for any Offences, except those we shall commit against his legal Authority, his sacred Person (which God preserve) or the Laws of the Land.

THE *Report* is very profuse in Arguments, that *Ireland* is in great Want of Copper Money: Who were the Witnesses to prove it, hath been shewn already: But, in the Name of GOD, who are to be Judges? Does not the Nation best known its own Wants?

Wants? Both Houses of *Parliament*, the *Privy-Council*, and the whole Body of the People, declare the contrary. Or, let the Wants be what they will, we desire they may not be supplied by Mr. *Wood*: We know our own Wants but too well; they are *many*, and *grievous* to be borne, but quite of another kind. Let *England* be satisfied: As things go, they will, in a short Time, have all our Gold and Silver, and may keep their adulterate Copper at home; for we are determined not to purchase it with our Manufactures, which *Wood* hath graciously offered to accept. Our *Wants* are not so bad by an hundredth Part as the Method he hath taken to supply them. He hath already tried his Faculty in *New-England*; and I hope he will meet at least with an *equal Reception* here; what *that* was, I leave to publick Intelligence. I am supposing a wild Case; that if there should be any Person already receiving a monstrous Pension out of this Kingdom, who was instrumental in procuring the *Patent*, they have either not well consulted their own Interests, or *Wood* must put more Dross into his Copper, and still diminish its Weight.

UPON *Wood's* Complaint, that the Officers of the KING's Revenue here had already given Orders to all the inferior Officers, not to receive any of his Coin; the Report says, That *this cannot but be looked upon as a very extraordinary Proceeding*, and being contrary to the Powers given in the Patent. The Committee say, They cannot advise His Majesty to give Directions to the Officers of the Revenue here, not to receive or utter any of the said Coin, as hath been desired in the Addresses of both Houses; but on the contrary, they think it both just and reasonable, that the King should immediately give Orders to the Commissioners of the Revenue, &c. to revoke all Orders, &c.

Ec. that may have been given by them, to hinder or obstruct the receiving the said Coin. And accordingly, we are told, such Orders are arrived. Now this was a Cast of *Wood's* Politicks; for his Information was wholly false and groundless, which he knew very well; and that the Commissioners of the Revenue here were all, except one, sent us from *England*, and love their Employments too well to have taken such a Step: But *Wood* was wise enough to consider, that such Orders of *Revocation* would be an open Declaration of the Crown in his Favour, would put the Government here under a Difficulty, would make a Noise, and, possibly, create some Terror in the poor People of *Ireland*. And one great Point he hath gained, that although any Orders of Revocation will be needless, yet a new Order is to be sent, and perhaps is already here, to the Commissioners of the Revenue, and all the King's Officers in *Ireland*: That *Wood's* Half-pence be suffered and permitted, without any Let, Suit, Trouble, Molestation, or Denial of any of the King's Officers or Ministers whatsoever, to pass, and be received as current Money by such as shall be willing to receive them. In this Order there is no Exception; and therefore, as far as I can judge, it includes all Officers, both Civil and Military, from the Lord High Chancellor to a Justice of Peace, and from the General to the Ensign; so that *Wood's* Project is not likely to fail for Want of Managers enough. For my own Part, as things stand, I have but little Regret to find myself out of the Number; and therefore I shall continue, in all Humility, to exhort and warn my Fellow-Subjects never to receive or utter this Coin, which will reduce the Kingdom to Beggary by much quicker and larger Steps than have hitherto been taken.

BUT it is needless to argue any longer. The Matter is come to an Issue. His Majesty, *pursuant to the Law*, hath left the *Field* open between *Wood* and the Kingdom of *Ireland*. *Wood* hath Liberty to offer his Coin, and we have *Law, Reason, Liberty, and Necessity* to refuse it. A knavish Jockey may ride an old founder'd Jade about the Market, but none are obliged to buy it. I hope the Words *Voluntary, and Willing to receive* it, will be understood, and applied in their true natural Meaning, as *commonly understood by Protestants*. For if a *fierce Captain* comes to my Shop to buy six Yards of Scarlet Cloth, followed by a Porter laden with a Sack of *Wood's* Coin upon his Shoulders, if we are agreed about the Price, and my Scarlet lies ready cut upon the Counter; if he then gives me the *Word of Command* to receive my Money in *Wood's* Coin, and calls me a *disaffected Jacobite Dog*, for refusing it (although I am as Loyal a Subject as himself, and *without Hire*) and thereupon seizes my Cloth, leaving me the Price in this odious Copper, and bids me take my Remedy: In this Case I shall hardly be brought to think, that I am *left to my own Will*. I shall therefore, on such Occasions, first order the Porter aforesaid to go off with his Pack; and then see the Money in *Silver and Gold* in my Possession before I cut or measure my Cloth. But if a *common Soldier* drinks his Pot first, and then offers Payment in *Wood's Half-pence*, the Landlady may be under some Difficulty; for if she complains to his *Captain or Ensign*, they are likewise *Officers*, included in this general Order for encouraging these *Half-pence* to pass as *Current Money*. If she goes to a *Justice of Peace*, he is also an *Officer*, to whom this general Order is directed. I do therefore advise her to follow my Practice, which I have already begun,
and

and be paid for her Goods before she parts with them. However, I should have been content, for some Reasons, that the *Military Gentlemen* had been excepted by Name; because I have heard it said, that their Discipline is best confined within their own District.

His Majesty, in the Conclusion of his Answer to the Address of the House of Lords against *Wood's* Coin, is pleased to say, that *He will do every Thing in his Power to the Satisfaction of his People.* It should seem, therefore, that the recalling the Patent is not to be understood as a Thing *in his Power.* But, however, since the Law doth not oblige us to receive this Coin, and consequently the Patent leaves it to our voluntary Choice, there is nothing remaining to preserve us from Ruin, but that the whole Kingdom should continue in a firm, determinate Resolution never to receive or utter this *fatal* Coin. After which let the *Officers*, to whom these Orders are directed (I would willingly except the *Military*) come with their *Exhortations*, their *Arguments*, and their *Eloquence*, to persuade us to find our Interest in our Undoing. Let *Wood* and his *Accomplices* travel about the Country with *Cart-Loads* of their *Ware*, and see who will take it off their Hands; there will be no Fear of his being robbed; for a *Highway-man* would scorn to touch it.

I am only in Pain how the *Commissioners* of the *Revenue* will proceed in this Juncture; because, I am told, they are obliged, by Act of Parliamēt, to take nothing but *Gold* and *Silver* in Payment for his Majesty's *Customs*: And I think they cannot justly offer this Coinage of *Mr. Wood* to others, unless they will be content to receive it themselves.

THE Sum of the whole is this: The Committee advises the King to send immediate Orders to all His Officers here, that Wood's Coin be suffered and permitted without any Let, Suit, Trouble, &c. to pass, and be received as Current Money by such as shall be willing to receive the same. It is probable, that the first willing Receivers may be those who must receive it whether they will or no, at least under the Penalty of losing an Office. But the Landed undepending Men, the Merchants, the Shopkeepers, and Bulk of the People, I hope, and am almost confident, will never receive it. What must the Consequence be? The Owners will sell it for as much as they can get. Wood's Half-pence will come to be offered for Six a Penny (yet then he will be a sufficient Gainer) and the Necessary Receivers will be Losers of two Thirds in their Salaries or Pay.

THIS puts me in mind of a Passage I was told many Years ago in England. At a Quarter Session in Leicester the Justices had wisely decreed, to take off a Half-penny in a Quart from the Price of Ale. One of them, who came in after the Thing was determined, being informed of what had passed, said thus: Gentlemen, you have made an Order, that Ale should be sold in our Country for three Half-pence a Quart; I desire you will now make another, to appoint who must drink it; for by G—— I will not.

I must beg Leave to caution your Lordships and Worship in one particular. Wood hath graciously promised to load us at present only with forty thousand Pounds of his Coin, 'till the Exigencies of the Kingdom require the rest. I intreat you will never suffer Mr. Wood to be a Judge of your Exigencies. While there is one piece of Silver or Gold left in the Kingdom, he will call it an Exigency. He will double

double his present *Quantum* by Stealth as soon as he can; He will pour his own *Raps* and *Counterfeits* upon us; *France* and *Holland* will do the same; nor will our own Coiners at home be behind them: To confirm which, I have now in my Pocket a *Rap*, or Counterfeit Half-penny, in Imitation of his; but so ill performed, that, in my Conscience, I believe it is not of his Coining.

I MUST now desire your *Lordships* and *Worships* that you will give great Allowance for this long undigested Paper. I find myself to have gone into several Repetitions, which were the Effects of Hastē, while new Thoughts fell in to add something to what I had said before. I think I may affirm, that I have fully answered every Paragraph in the *Report*; which, although it be not unartfully drawn, and is perfectly in the Spirit of a Pleader, who can find the most plausible Topicks in Behalf of his Client, yet there was no great Skill required to detect the many Mistakes contained in it; which, however, are by no Means to be charged upon the Right Honourable Committee, but upon the most false, impudent, and fraudulent Representations of *Wood* and his Accomplices. I desire one Particular may dwell upon your Minds, although I have mentioned it more than once: That after all the Weight laid upon the *Precedent*, there is not one produced in the whole *Report*, of a Patent for coining Copper in *England* to pass in *Ireland*; and only two Patents referred to, (for indeed there were no more) which were both passed in *Ireland*, by References to the King's Council here, both less advantageous to the Coiner than this of *Wood*; and in both *Securities* given to receive the Coin at every Call, and give Gold and Silver in lieu of it. This demonstrates the most flagrant Fals-

hood and Impudence of *Wood*, by which he would endeavour to make the Right Honourable Committee his Instruments, (for his own illegal and exorbitant Gain) to ruin a Kingdom, which has deserved quite different Treatment.

I AM very sensible that such a Work as I have undertaken might have worthily employed a much better Pen. But when a House is attempted to be robbed, it often happens that the weakest in the Family runs first to stop the Door. All the Assistance I had, were some Informations from an eminent Person; whereof I am afraid I have spoiled a few, by endeavouring to make them of a Piece with my own Productions, and the rest I was not able to manage: I was in the Case of *David*, who could not move in the Armour of *Saul*; and therefore I rather chose to attack this uncircumcised Philistine (*Wood* I mean) with a Sling and a Stone. And I may say for *Wood's* Honour, as well as my own, that he resembles *Goliath* in many Circumstances, very applicable to the present Purpose: For *Goliath* had a Helmet of Brass upon his Head, and he was armed with a Coat of Mail, and the Weight of the Coat was five thousand Shekels of Brass, and he had Greaves of Brass upon his Legs, and a Target of Brass between his Shoulders. In short, he was like Mr. *Wood*, all over Brass, and he defied the Armies of the living God. *Goliath's* Conditions of Combat were likewise the same with those of *Wood*: If he prevail against us, then then shall we be his Servants. But if it happens that I prevail over him, I renounce the other Part of the Condition; he shall never be a Servant of mine; for I do not think him fit to be trusted in any honest Man's Shop.

I WILL

LETTER III.

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I WILL conclude with my humble Desire and Request, which I made in my second Letter, that your *Lordships* and *Worships* would please to order a *Declaration* to be drawn up, expressing in the strongest Terms your Resolutions never to receive or utter any of *Wood's* Half-pence, or Farthings; and forbidding your Tenants to receive them. That the said *Declaration* may be signed by as many Persons as possible, who have Estates in this Kingdom, and be sent down to your several Tenants aforesaid.

AND if the Dread of *Wood's* Half-pence should continue until next *Quarter-Session*, which I hope it will not, the Gentlemen of every County will then have a fair Opportunity of declaring against them with Unanimity and Zeal.

I am, with the greatest Respect,

(May it please your Lordships and Worships,)

Your most dutiful and

Obedient Servant,

Aug. 25, 1724.

M. B.

LETTER IV. [282] And when I was
fainting from the Field, at the Point to die, it is no
Wonder that he told his Buriall for a Man.

I THOUGHT I had sufficiently shewn to all who
could be instructed by what I have said, the
late Proceedings, whenever this Cause should be offered
to them: And I believe there hath not been for
many Ages, an Example in any Country to shew
united in a Point of great Importance, as this
is, and I am sure, that I have shewn to all who
begin to be alarmed at the new and dangerous
N. B. This was the LETTER, against which the
Lord Lieutenant [Carteret] and Council issued a
Proclamation, offering three Hundred Pounds to dis-
cover the Author; and for which Harding, the
Printer, was tried, before one William Whitshed,
the Chief Justice: But the noble Jury would not
find the Bill, nor would any Person discover the
Author.

TO THE WHOLE PEOPLE OF
IRELAND.

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cover the Author; and for which Harding, the
Printer, was tried, before one William Whitshed,
the Chief Justice: But the noble Jury would not
find the Bill, nor would any Person discover the
Author.

My dear Countrymen,
H A V I N G already written three LETTERS
upon so disagreeable a Subject as Mr. Wood
and his Half-pence, I conceive my Task was
at an End; but I find that Cordials must be fre-
quently applied to weak Constitutions, political as
well as natural. A People long used to Hardships,
lose by Degrees the very Notions of Liberty; they
look upon themselves as Creatures at Mercy, and
that all Impositions laid on them by a stronger
Hand, are, in the Phrase of the Report, legal and
obligatory. Hence proceed that Poverty and Lowness
of Spirit, to which a Kingdom may be subject, as
well

well as a *particular Person*. And when *Eſau* came fainting from the Field, at the Point to die, it is no Wonder that he ſold his *Birthright for a Meſs of Pottage*.

I THOUGHT I had ſufficiently ſhewn to all who could want Inſtruction, by what Methods they might ſafely proceed, whenever this *Coin* ſhould be offered to them: And, I believe, there hath not been, for many Ages, an Example of any Kingdom ſo firmly united in a Point of great Importance, as this of ours is at preſent, againſt that deteſtable Fraud. But, however, it ſo happens, that ſome weak People begin to be alarmed a-new by Rumours induſtriouſly ſpread. *Wood* preſcribes to the Newſmongers in *London* what they are to write. In one of their Papers, published here by ſome obſcure Printer (and certainly with a bad Deſign) we are told, that the *Papiſts in Ireland have entered into an Association againſt his Coin*; although it be notoriously known, that they never once offered to ſtir in the Matter; ſo that the two Houſes of Parliament, the Privy-Council, the great Numbers of Corporations, the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *Dublin*, the Grand Juries, and principal Gentlemen of ſeveral Counties, are ſigmatized in a Lump, under the Name of *Papiſts*.

THIS Impoſtor and his Crew do likewise give out, that, by reſuſing to receive his Droſs for Sterling, we diſpute the King's Prerogative, are grown ripe for Rebellion, and ready to ſhake off the Dependency of Ireland upon the Crown of England. To countenance which Reports he hath published a Paragraph in another News-Paper, to let us know, that the Lord Lieutenant is ordered to come over immediately to ſettle his Half-pence.

I INTREAT you, my dear Countrymen, not to be under the least Concern upon these, and the like Rumours, which are no more than the last Howls of a Dog dissected alive, as I hope he hath sufficiently been. These Calumnies are the only Reserve that is left him. For surely our continued and (almost) unexampled Loyalty will never be called in Question, for not suffering ourselves to be robbed of all that we have by one obscure *Ironmonger*.

As to disputing the King's *Prerogative*, give me Leave to explain to those who are ignorant, what the Meaning of that Word *Prerogative*, is.

THE Kings of these Realms enjoy several Powers, wherein the Laws have not interposed; so they can make War and Peace without the Consent of Parliament, and this is a very great *Prerogative*. But if the Parliament doth not approve of the War, the King must bear the Charge of it out of his own Purse; and this is as great a Check on the Crown. So the King hath a *Prerogative* to coin Money without Consent of Parliament: But he cannot compel the Subject to take that Money, except it be Sterling, Gold or Silver; because herein he is limited by Law. Some Princes have indeed extended their *Prerogative* farther than the Law allowed them: Wherein, however, the Lawyers of succeeding Ages, as fond as they are of *Precedents*, have never dared to justify them. But, to say the Truth, it is only of late Times that *Prerogative* hath been fixed and ascertained. For whoever reads the Histories of *England* will find, that some former Kings, and those none of the worst, have, upon several Occasions, ventured to controul the Laws, with very little Ceremony or Scruple, even later than the Days of Queen *Elizabeth*. In her Reign, that pernicious Counsel

of

of sending *base Money* hither, very narrowly failed of losing the Kingdom: being complained of by the Lord Deputy, the Council, and the whole Body of the *English* here: So that, soon after her Death, it was recalled by her Successor, and lawful Money paid in Exchange.

HAVING thus given you some Notion of what is meant by the King's *Prerogative*, as far as a *Tradesman* can be thought capable of explaining it, I will only add the Opinion of the great Lord *Bacon*, that as God governs the World by the settled Laws of Nature, which he hath made, and never transcends those Laws but upon high, important Occasions; so among earthly Princes, those are the wisest and the best, who govern by the known Laws of the Country, and seldomest make use of their *Prerogative*.

Now here you may see that the vile Accusation of *Wood* and his *Accomplices*, charging us with disputing the King's *Prerogative*, by refusing his *Brass*, can have no Place; because compelling the Subject to take any Coin which is not Sterling, is no Part of the King's *Prerogative*; and, I am very confident, if it were so, we should be the last of his People to dispute it; as well from that inviolable Loyalty we have always paid to His Majesty, as from the Treatment we might, in such a Case, justly expect from some, who seem to think, we have neither *common Sense*, nor *common Senses*. But, God be thanked, the best of them are only our *Fellow-Subjects*, and not our *Masters*. One great Merit, I am sure, we have, which those of *English* Birth can have no Pretence to, that our Ancestors reduced this Kingdom to the Obedience of ENGLAND; for which we have been rewarded with a worse Climate, the

Privilege of being governed by Laws to which we do not consent, a ruined Trade, a House of Peers without Jurisdiction, almost an Incapacity for all Employments, and the Dread of *Wood's Half-pence*.

BUT we are so far from disputing the King's *Prerogative* in coining, that we own he hath Power to give a Patent to any Man, for setting his Royal Image and Supercription upon whatever Materials he pleases; and Liberty to the Patentee to offer them in any Country from *England* to *Japan*, only attended with one small Limitation, that *no body alive is obliged to take them*.

UPON these Considerations I was ever against all Recourse to *England* for a Remedy against the present impending Evil; especially when I observed, that the Addressee of both Houses, after long Expectance, produced nothing but a REPORT, altogether in Favour of *Wood*; upon which I made some Observations in a former Letter, and might at least have made as many more; for it is a Paper of as singular a Nature as I ever beheld.

BUT I mistake; for before this Report was made, His Majesty's most gracious Answer to the House of Lords was sent over, and printed; wherein are these Words, *granting the Patent for coining Half-pence and Farthings, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, &c.* That King *Charles II.* and King *James II.* (AND THEY ONLY) did grant Patents for this Purpose, is indisputable, and I have shewn it at large. Their Patents were passed under the Great Seal of *Ireland*, by References to *Ireland*, the Copper to be coined in *Ireland*; the Patentee was bound, on Demand, to receive his Coin back in *Ireland*, and pay Silver and Gold

Gold in Return. *Wood's* Patent was made under the Great Seal of *England*, the Brads coined in *England*, not the least Reference made to *Ireland*; the Sum immense, and the Patentee under no Obligation to receive it again, and give good Money for it. This I only mention, because, in my private Thoughts, I have sometimes made a Query, whether the *Penner* of those Words in His Majesty's most gracious Answer, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, had maturely considered the several Circumstances, which, in my poor Opinion, seem to make a Difference.

LET me now say something concerning the other great Cause of some People's Fear, as *Wood* has taught the *London* News-writer to express it, That *his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant is coming over to settle Wood's Half-pence*.

WE know very well, that the Lords Lieutenants, for several Years past, have not thought this Kingdom worthy the Honour of their Residence, longer than was absolutely necessary for the King's Business; which, consequently, wanted no Speed in the Dispatch. And therefore it naturally fell into most Men's Thoughts, that a new Governor, coming at an unusual Time, must portend some unusual Business to be done; especially if the common Report be true, that the Parliament, prorogued to I know not when, is, by a new Summons (that Prorogation being revoked) to assemble soon after his Arrival; for which extraordinary Proceeding, the Lawyers, on the other Side the Water, have, by great good Fortune, found two *Precedents*.

ALL this being granted, it can never enter into my Head, that so little a Creature as *Wood*, could find Credit enough with the King and his Ministers,

sters, to have the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* sent hither in a Hurry upon his Errand.

For, let us take the whole Matter nakedly, as it lies before us, without the Refinements of some People, with which we have nothing to do. Here is a Patent granted under the Great Seal of *England*, upon false Suggestions, to one *William Wood*, for coining Copper *Half-pence* for *Ireland*: The Parliament here, upon Apprehensions of the worst Consequences from the said Patent, address the King to have it recalled: This is refused, and a Committee of the Privy-Council report to His Majesty, that *Wood* has performed the Conditions of his Patent. He then is left to do the best he can with his *Half-pence*; no Man being obliged to receive them: the People here, being likewise left to themselves, unite as one Man, resolving they will have nothing to do with his Ware. By this plain Account of the Fact it is manifest, that the King and his Ministry, are wholly out of the Case, and the Matter is left to be disputed between him and us. Will any Man therefore attempt to persuade me, that a Lord Lieutenant is to be dispatched over in great Haste, before the ordinary Time, and a Parliament summoned, by anticipating a Prorogation, merely to put an hundred thousand Pounds into the Pocket of a *Sharper*, by the Ruin of a most loyal Kingdom?

BUT supposing all this to be true: By what Arguments could a Lord Lieutenant prevail on the same Parliament, which addressed with so much Zeal and Earnestness against this Evil, to pass it into a Law? I am sure their Opinion of *Wood*, and his Project, are not mended since their last Prorogation: And supposing these *Methods* should be used, which *Detractors* tell us, have been sometimes put in Practice

Since for gaining Votes, it is well known, that, in this Kingdom, there are few Employments to be given; and, if there were more, it is as well known to whose Share they must fall.

BUT, because great Numbers of you are altogether ignorant of the Affairs of your Country, I will tell you some Reasons, why there are so few Employments to be disposed of in this Kingdom. All considerable Offices for Life here are possessed by those, to whom the Reversions were granted; and these have been generally Followers of the Chief Governors, or Persons who had Interest in the Court of England: So the Lord Berkely of Stratton holds that great Office of Master of the Rolls; the Lord Palmestown is First Remembrancer, worth near 2000 *l. per Annum*. One Dodington, Secretary to the Earl of Pembroke, begged the Reversion of Clerk of the Pells, worth 2500 *l. a Year*, which he now enjoys by the Death of the Lord Newtown. Mr. Southwell is Secretary of State, and the Earl of Burlington Lord High Treasurer of Ireland by Inheritance. These are only a few among many others which I have been told of, but cannot remember. Nay, the Reversion of several Employments during Pleasure are granted the same Way. This, among many others, is a Circumstance whereby the Kingdom of Ireland is distinguished from all other Nations upon Earth, and makes it so difficult to get into a Civil Employ, that Mr. Addison was forced to purchase an old obscure Place, called Keeper of the Records in Bermingham's Tower, of ten Pounds a Year, and to get a Salary of 400 *l.* annexed to it, though all the Records there are not worth Half-a-Crown, either for Curiosity or Use. And we lately saw a

Mr. Hopkins, Secretary to the Duke of Grafton.

rite

rite Secretary descend to be *Master of the Revels*, which, by his *Credit and Extortion*, he hath made pretty considerable. I say nothing of the *Under-Treasurer*ship, worth about 9000*l.* a Year, nor of the Commissioners of the Revenue, four of whom generally live in *England*; for I think none of these are granted in *Reversion*. But the Jest is, that I have known, upon Occasion, some of these absent Officers as keen against the Interest of *Ireland*, as if they had never been indebted to her for a single *Groat*.

I confess I have been sometimes tempted to wish that this Project of *Wood* might succeed; because I reflected with some Pleasure, what a jolly Crew it would bring over among us of *Lords*, and *Squires*, and *Pensioners* of both Sexes, and Officers *Civil* and *Military*, where we should live together as merry and sociable as Beggars; only with this one Abatement, that we should neither have *Meat* to feed, nor *Manufacture* to cloath us; unless we could be content to prance about in *Coats of Mail*, or eat *Brass* as *Oftriches* do *Iron*.

I RETURN from this Digression to that which gave me the Occasion of making it: And I believe you are now convinced, that if the Parliament of *Ireland* were as temptable as any other Assembly, within a Mile of *Christendom* (which God forbid;) yet the *Managers* must of Necessity fail, for want of *Tools* to work with. But I will yet go one Step further, by supposing that a hundred new Employments were erected, on purpose, to gratify *Compliers*; yet still an insuperable Difficulty would remain. For it happens, I know not how, that *Money* is neither *Whig* nor *Tory*, neither of *Town* nor *Country Party*; and it is not improbable, that a Gentleman would rather chuse to

to live upon his own *Estate*, which brings him *Gold* and *Silver*, than with the Addition of an *Employment*, when his *Rents* and *Salary* must both be paid in *Wood's* *Brass* at above eighty per Cent. Discount.

FOR these, and many other Reasons, I am confident you need not be under the least Apprehensions, from the sudden Expectation of the *Lord Lieutenant*, while we continue in our present hearty Disposition; to alter which there is no suitable Temptation can possibly be offered. And if, as I have often asserted, from the best Authority, the *Law* hath not left a *Power* in the *Crown* to force any Money, except Sterling, upon the Subject: much less can the *Crown* *devalve* such a *Power* upon another.

THIS I speak with the utmost Respect to the *Person* and *Dignity* of his Excellency the *Lord Carteret*, whose Character was lately given me by a Gentleman that hath known him from his first Appearance in the World: That Gentleman describes him as a young Man of great Accomplishments, excellent Learning, regular in his Life, and of much Spirit and Vivacity. He hath since, as I have heard, been employed Abroad, was principal Secretary of State, and is now, about the thirty-seventh Year of his Age, appointed *Lord Lieutenant* of *Ireland*. From such a Governor this Kingdom may reasonably hope for as much Prosperity as, under so many Discouragements, it can be capable of receiving.

IT is true indeed, that, within the Memory of Man, there have been Governors of so much Dexterity, as to carry Points of terrible Consequence to this Kingdom, by their Power with those who are in Office; and, by their Arts in managing or deluding others with *Oaths*, *Affability*, and even with

Dinners.

Dinners. If *Wood's* Brass had, in those Times, been upon the *Anvil*, it is obvious enough to conceive what Methods would have been taken. Depending Persons would have been told in plain Terms, that it was a Service expected from them, under the Pain of the publick Business being put into more complying Hands. Others would be allured by Promises. To the Country Gentlemen, besides good Words, *Burgundy*, and *Closetting*, it might perhaps have been hinted, how kindly it would be taken to comply with a Royal Patent, although it were not compulsory. That if any Inconveniencies ensued, it might be made up with other Graces or Favours hereafter: That Gentlemen ought to consider, whether it were prudent or safe to disgust England: They would be desired to think of some good Bills for encouraging of Trade, and setting the Poor to work; some further Acts against Popery, and for uniting Protestants. There would be solemn Engagements, that we should never be troubled with above forty thousand Pounds in his Coin, and all of the best and weightiest Sort, for which we should only give our Manufactures in Exchange; and keep our Gold and Silver at Home. Perhaps a seasonable Report of some Invasion would have been spread in the most proper Juncture; which is a great Smoother of Rubs in publick Proceedings: And we should have been told, that this was no Time to create Differences, when the Kingdom was in Danger.

THESE, I say, and the like Methods, would, in corrupt Times, have been taken to let in this Deluge of Brass among us. And, I am confident, even then would not have succeeded; much less under the Administration of so excellent a Person as the Lord CARTERET; and in a Country where the People

People of all Ranks, Parties, and Denominations, are convinced to a Man, that the utter undoing of themselves and their Posterity for ever will be dated from the Admission of that execrable Coin: That if it once enters, it can be no more confined to a small or moderate Quantity, than the *Plague* can be confined to a few Families; and that no *Equivalent* can be given by any earthly Power, any more than a dead Carcase can be recovered to Life by a Cordial.

THERE is one comfortable Circumstance in this universal Opposition to Mr. *Wood*, that the People sent over hither from *England*, to fill up our *Vacancies*, *Ecclesiastical*, *Civil*, and *Military*, are all on our Side. Money, the great Divider of the World, hath, by a strange Revolution, been the great Uniter of a most divided People. Who would leave a hundred Pounds a Year in *England* (a Country of *Freedom*) to be paid a thousand in *Ireland* out of *Wood's* Exchequer? The Gentleman they have lately made *Primate*, would never quit his Seat in an *English* House of Lords, and his Preferments at *Oxford* and *Bristol*, worth twelve hundred Pounds a Year, for four times the Denomination here, but not half the Value; therefore I expect to hear he will be as good an *Irishman*, at least, upon this one Article as any of his Brethren, or even of us, who have had the Misfortune to be born in this Island. For those who, in the common Phrase, do not come hither to learn the Language, would never change a better Country for a worse, to receive *Brass* instead of *Gold*.

ANOTHER Slander spread by *Wood*, and his *Emissaries*, is, that, by opposing him, we discover an Inclination to shake off our Dependence upon the Crown.

Crown of England. Pray observe how important a Person is this same *William Wood*; and how the publick Weal of two Kingdoms is involved in his private Interest. First, all those who refuse to take his Coin are *Papists*; for he tells us, that *none but Papists are associated against him.* Secondly, they dispute the *King's Prerogative.* Thirdly, they are ripe for *Rebellion.* And, Fourthly, they are going to shake off their Dependance upon the *Crown of England*; that is to say, they are going to chuse another King; for there can be no other Meaning in this Expression, however some may pretend to strain it.

AND this gives me an Opportunity of explaining, to those who are ignorant, another Point, which hath often swelled in my Breast. Those who come over hither to us from *England*, and some weak People among ourselves, whenever, in Discourse, we make mention of *Liberty and Property*, shake their Heads, and tell us, that *Ireland* is a depending Kingdom; as if they would seem, by this Phrase, to intend, that the People of *Ireland* is in some State of Slavery or Dependance different from those of *England*: Whereas a depending Kingdom is a modern Term of Art, unknown, as I have heard, to all ancient Civilians, and Writers upon Government; and *Ireland* is, on the contrary, called in some Statutes an *Imperial Crown*, as held only from God; which is as high a Style as any Kingdom is capable of receiving. Therefore by this Expression, a depending Kingdom, there is no more understood than that, by a Statute made here in the thirty-third Year of *Henry VIII.* the King, and his Successors, are to be Kings Imperial of this Realm, as united and knit to the Imperial Crown of *England.* I have looked over
all

all the *English* and *Irish* Statutes, without finding any Law that makes *Ireland* depend upon *England*, any more than *England* doth upon *Ireland*. We have indeed obliged ourselves to have the *same King with them*; and consequently they are obliged to have the *same King with us*. For the Law was made by our own Parliament; and our Ancestors then were not such Fools (*whatever they were in the preceding Reign*) to bring themselves under I know not what Dependance; which is now talked of, without any Ground of Law, Reason, or common Sense.

LET whoever think otherwise, I, M. B. Drapier, desire to be excepted. For I declare, next under God, I depend only on the King my Sovereign, and on the Laws of my own Country. And I am so far from depending upon the People of *England*, that, if they should ever rebel against my Sovereign, (which God forbid) I would be ready, at the first Command from His Majesty, to take Arms against them, as some of my Countrymen did against theirs at *Preston*. And if such a Rebellion should prove so successful as to fix the Pretender on the Throne of *England*, I would venture to transgress that Statute so far, as to lose every Drop of my Blood to hinder him from being King of *Ireland*.

It is true indeed, that, within the Memory of Man, the Parliaments of *England* have sometimes assumed the Power of binding this Kingdom by Laws enacted there; wherein they were, at first, openly opposed (as far as Truth, Reason, and Justice are capable of opposing) by the famous Mr. *Molineaux*, an *English* Gentleman born here, as well as by several of the greatest Patriots, and best Whigs in *England*; but the Love and Torrent of Power prevailed. Indeed the Arguments on both Sides were invincible. For, in Reason, all Government, without the Consent

of the governed, is the very *Definition of Slavery*: But, in Fact, *eleven Men well armed will certainly subdue one single Man in his Shirt*. But I have done: For those who have used *Power* to cramp *Liberty*, have gone so far as to resent even the *Liberty of complaining*; although a Man upon the Rack was never known to be refused the *Liberty of roaring* as loud as he thought fit.

AND as we are apt to *sink* too much under *unreasonable Fears*, so we are too soon inclined to be raised by groundless *Hopes*, according to the Nature of all *consumptive Bodies* like ours. Thus it hath been given about, for several Days past, that *Somebody* in *England* empowered a second *Somebody* to write to a third *Somebody* here, to assure us, that we *should no more be troubled with these Half-pence*. And this is reported to have been done by the ** same Person*, who was said to have sworn, some Months ago, that he would *ram them down their Throats*, though, I doubt, they would *stick in our Stomachs*: But which ever of these Reports be true or false, it is no Concern of ours. For, *in this Point*, we have nothing to do with *English Ministers*: And I should be sorry to leave it in their Power to redress this Grievance, or to enforce it; for the *Report of the Committee* hath given me a *Surfeit*. The Remedy is wholly in your Hands; and therefore I have digressed a little in order to refresh and continue that *Spirit* so seasonably raised amongst you; and to let you see, that, by the Laws of GOD, of NATURE, of NATIONS, and of your own Country, you ARE, and OUGHT to be as FREE a People as your Brethren in *England*.

* Mr. Walpole, afterwards E. of Orford.

If the Pamphlets published at London by Wood and his *Journeymen*, in Defence of his Cause, were reprinted here, and that our Countrymen could be persuaded to read them, they would convince you of his wicked Design, more than all I shall ever be able to say. In short, I make him a perfect *Saint*, in Comparison of what he appears to be from the Writings of those whom he *hires* to justify his *Project*. But he is so far *Master of the Field*, (*let others guess the Reason*) that no London Printer dare publish any Paper written in Favour of Ireland: And here no Body hath yet been so bold as to publish any thing in Favour of him.

THERE was, a few Days ago, a Pamphlet sent me of near fifty Pages, written in favour of Mr. Wood and his Coinage, printed in London: It is not worth answering, because probably it will never be published here. But it gave me an Occasion to reflect upon an Unhappiness we lie under, that the People of England are utterly ignorant of our Case; which, however, is no Wonder, since it is a Point they do not in the least concern themselves about, farther than perhaps as a Subject of Discourse in a Coffee-House when they have nothing else to talk of. For I have Reason to believe that no Minister ever gave himself the Trouble of reading any Papers written in our Defence, because I suppose *their Opinions are already determined*, and are formed wholly upon the Reports of Wood and his Accomplices; else it would be impossible that any Man could have the Impudence to write such a Pamphlet as I have mentioned.

OUR Neighbours, whose Understandings are just upon a Level with ours (which perhaps are none of the *brightest*) have a strong Contempt for most Nations, but especially for Ireland. They look upon us

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as a sort of *savage Irish*, whom our Ancestors conquered several hundred Years ago. And if I should describe the *Britons* to you as they were in *Cæsar's* Time, when they *painted their Bodies and clothed themselves with the Skins of Beasts*, I should act full as reasonably as they do. However, they are so far to be excused, in relation to the present Subject, that hearing only *one Side of the Cause*, and having neither Opportunity nor Curiosity to examine the *other*, they *believe a Lie* merely for their Ease; and conclude, because Mr. *Wood* pretends to have *Power*, he hath also *Reason* on his Side.

THEREFORE, to let you see how this Case is represented in *England* by *Wood* and his Adherents, I have thought it proper to extract out of that Pamphlet, a few of those notorious Falshoods, in point of *Fact* and *Reasoning*, contained therein, the Knowledge whereof will confirm my Countrymen in their *own* right Sentiments, when they will see, by comparing both, how much their *Enemies* are in the *wrong*.

FIRST, The Writer positively asserts, That *Wood's Half-pence* were current among us for several Months, with the universal Approbation of all People, without one single Gainsayer; and we all, to a Man, thought ourselves happy in having them.

SECONDLY, He affirms, that we were drawn into a Dislike of them only by some cunning, evil designing Men among us, who opposed this Patent of *Wood*, to get another for themselves.

THIRDLY, That those who most declared at first against *Wood's* Patent, were the very Men who intend to get another for their own Advantage.

FOURTHLY, That our Parliament and Privy-Council, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *Dublin*, the Grand Juries and Merchants, and, in short, the whole

whole Kingdom, nay, the very Dogs (as he expresseth it) were fond of those Half-pence, till they were inflamed by those few designing Persons aforesaid.

FIFTHLY, He says directly, that all those, who opposed the Half-pence, were Papists, and Enemies to King George.

THUS far, I am confident, the most ignorant among you can safely swear, from your own Knowledge, that the Author is a most notorious Liar in every Article; the direct contrary being so manifest to the whole Kingdom, that, if Occasion required, we might get it confirmed under five hundred thousand Hands.

SIXTHLY, He would persuade us, that if we sell five Shillings worth of our Goods or Manufactures for two Shillings and four-pence worth of Copper, although the Copper were melted down, and that we could get five Shillings in Gold and Silver for the said Goods; yet to take the said two Shillings and Four-pence in Copper would be greatly for our Advantage.

AND, lastly, He makes us a very fair Offer, as empowered by Wood, that if we will take off two hundred thousand Pounds in his Half-pence for our Goods, and likewise pay him three per Cent. Interest for thirty Years, for an hundred and twenty thousand Pounds (at which he computes the Coinage above the intrinsick Value of the Copper) for the Loan of his Coin, he will, after that Time, give us good Money for what Half-pence will be then left.

LET me place this Offer in as clear a Light as I can, to shew the insupportable Villainy and Impudence of that incorrigible Wretch. First (says he) I will send two hundred thousand Pounds of my Coin into your Country: The Copper I compute to

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be, in real Value, eighty thousand Pounds, and I charge you with an hundred and twenty thousand Pounds for the Coinage; so that you see, I lend you an hundred and twenty thousand Pounds for thirty Years; for which you shall pay me three per Cent. that is to say, three thousand six hundred Pounds per Annum, which, in thirty Years, will amount to an hundred and eight thousand Pounds. And, when these thirty Years are expired, return me my Copper, and I will give you good Money for it.

THIS is the Proposal made to us by *Wood* in that Pamphlet written by one of his Commissioners: And the Author is supposed to be the same infamous *Coleby*, one of his Under-Swearers at the Committee of Council, who was tried for robbing the Treasury here, where he was an Under-Clerk.

By this Proposal he will first receive two hundred thousand Pounds, in Goods or Sterling, for as much Copper as he values at eighty thousand Pounds; but in Reality not worth thirty thousand Pounds. Secondly, he will receive for Interest an hundred and eight thousand Pounds: And when our Children come, thirty Years hence, to return his *Half-pence* upon his Executors, (for before that Time he will be probably gone to his own Place) those Executors will very reasonably reject them as Raps and Counterfeits; which they will be, and Millions of them of his own Coinage.

METHINKS I am fond of such a Dealer as this, who mends every Day upon our Hands like a Dutch Reckoning, where, if you dispute the Unreasonableness and Exorbitance of the Bill, the Landlord shall bring it up every Time with new Additions.

ALTHOUGH these, and the like Pamphlets, published by *Wood* in London, are altogether unknown here, where no body could read them without as much

much *Indignation* as *Contempt* would allow: yet I thought it proper to give you a Specimen how the Man employs his Time, where he rides alone without any Creature to contradict him; while our FEW FRIENDS there wonder at our Silence: And the *English* in general, if they think of this Matter at all, impute our Refusal to *Wilfulness* or *Disaffection*, just as *Wood* and his *Hirelings* are pleased to represent.

BUT although our Arguments are not suffered to be printed in *England*, yet the Consequence will be of little Moment. Let *Wood* endeavour to persuade the People there, that we ought to receive his Coin; and let me convince our People here, that they ought to reject it under Pain of our utter Undoing; and then let him do his best and his worst.

BEFORE I conclude I must beg Leave, in all Humility, to tell Mr. *Wood*, that he is guilty of great *Indiscretion*, by causing so honourable a Name as that of Mr. *Walpole* to be mentioned so often and in such a manner, upon this Occasion. A short Paper printed at *Bristol*, and reprinted here, reports Mr. *Wood* to say, that he wonders at the *Impudence and Insolence of the Irish*, in refusing his Coin, and what he will do when Mr. *Walpole* comes to Town. Where, by the Way, he is mistaken; for it is the true *English People of Ireland* who refuse it, although we take it for granted, that the *Irish* will do so too whenever they are asked. In another printed Paper of his Contriving it is roundly expressed, that Mr. *Walpole* will cram his Brass down our Throats. Sometimes it is given out, that we must either take these Half-pence, or eat our Brogues: And in another News-Letter, but of Yesterday, we

read, that the same great Man *hath sworn to make us swallow his Coin in Fire-balls.*

THIS brings to my Mind the known Story of a Scotchman who, receiving the Sentence of Death, with all the Circumstances of *Hanging, Beheading, Quartering, Embowelling,* and the like, cried out, *What need all this COOKERY?* And I think we have Reason to ask the same Question; for if we believe *Wood*, here is a *Dinner* getting ready for us, and you see the *Bill of Fare*; and I am sorry the *Drink* was forgot, which might easily be supplied with *melted Lead* and *flaming Pitch.*

WHAT vile Words are these to put into the Mouth of a great Counsellor, in high Trust with His Majesty, and looked upon as a Prime Minister? If Mr. *Wood* hath no better a Manner of representing his Patrons, when I come to be a great Man, he shall never be suffered to attend at my *Levee.* This is not the Style of a great Minister; it favours too much of the *Kettle* and the *Furnace*, and came entirely out of *Wood's Forge.*

As for the Threat of making us *eat our Brogues*, we need not be in Pain; for if his Coin should pass, that *unpolite Covering for the Feet* would no longer be a *National Reproach*; because then we should have neither *Shoe* nor *Brogue* left in the Kingdom. But here the Falshood of Mr. *Wood* is fairly detected; for I am confident Mr. *Walpole* never heard of a *Brogue* in his whole Life.

As to *swallowing these Half-pence in Fire-balls*, it is a Story equally improbable. For, to execute this Operation, the whole Stock of Mr. *Wood's* Coin and Metal must be melted down, and moulded into hollow *Balls* with *Wildfire*, no bigger than a reasonable Throat may be able to swallow. Now, the Metal he hath prepared, and already coined, will amount

to at least fifty Millions of *Half-pence* to be swallowed by a Million and an half of People; so that, allowing two *Half-pence* to each *Ball*, there will be about seventeen *Balls* of *Wild-fire* a-piece, to be swallowed by every Person in the Kingdom; And, to administer this Dose, there cannot be conveniently fewer than fifty thousand *Operators*, allowing one *Operator* to every thirty; which, considering the *Squeamishness* of some *Stomachs*, and the *Peewishness* of young *Children*, is but reasonable. Now, under Correction of better Judgments, I think the Trouble and Charge of such an Experiment would exceed the Profit; and therefore I take this Report to be spurious, or, at least, only a new Scheme of Mr. *Wood* himself; which, to make it pass the better in *Ireland*, he would father upon a *Minister of State*.

BUT I will now demonstrate, beyond all Contradiction, that Mr. *Walpole* is against this Project of Mr. *Wood*, and is an entire Friend to *Ireland*, only by this one invincible Argument, that he has the universal Opinion of being a wise Man, and able Minister, and in all his Proceedings pursuing the true Interest of the King his Master: And that as his Integrity is above all Corruption, so is his Fortune above all Temptation. I reckon therefore, we are perfectly safe from that Corner, and shall never be under the Necessity of contending with so formidable a Power, but be left to possess our *Brogues* and *Potatoes* in Peace, as ^a remote from Thunder as we are from *Jupiter*.

I am, my dear Countrymen,

Your Loving Fellow Subject,

Fellow Sufferer, and

Humble Servant,

Octob. 13, 1724.

M. B.

Procul à Jove, procul à fulmine.

In

In about a Month after the Proclamation was published, offering three Hundred Pounds Reward for discovering the Author of the preceding Letter, the following Paper was published:

The PRESENTMENT of the Grand Jury of the County of the City of Dublin.

WHEREAS several great Quantities of base Metal coined, commonly called *Wood's Half-pence*, have been brought into the Port of *Dublin*, and lodg'd in several Houses of this City, with an Intention to make them pass clandestinely among His Majesty's Subjects of this Kingdom; notwithstanding the Addresses of both Houses of Parliament, and the Privy-Council, and the Declarations of most of the Corporations of this City against the said Coin: And whereas his Majesty has been graciously pleased to leave his loyal Subjects of this Kingdom at Liberty to take, or refuse the said Half-pence:

WE the *Grand Jury* of the County of the City of *Dublin*, this *Michaelmas Term 1724*, having entirely at Heart His Majesty's Interest, and the Welfare of our Country, and being thoroughly sensible of the great Discouragements which Trade hath suffer'd by the Apprehensions of the said Coin, whereof we have already felt the dismal Effects; and that the Currency thereof will inevitably tend to the great Diminution of His Majesty's Revenue, and the Ruin of us and our Posterity, do *present* all such Persons

as have attempted, or shall endeavour by Fraud, or otherwise, to impose the said Half-pence upon us, contrary to his Majesty's most gracious Intentions, as Enemies to His Majesty's Government, and to the Safety, Peace, and Welfare of all His Majesty's Subjects of this Kingdom; whose Affections have been so eminently distinguished by their Zeal to his illustrious Family before his happy Accession to the Throne, and by their continued Loyalty ever since.

As we do, with all just Gratitude, acknowledge the Services of all such Patriots as have been eminently zealous for the Interest of his Majesty, and this Country, in detecting the fraudulent Impositions of the said Wood, and preventing the passing his base Coin; so we do, at the same Time, declare our Abhorrence and Detestation of all Reflections on His Majesty and his Government; and that we are ready with our Lives and Fortunes, to defend his most sacred Majesty against the Pretender, and all His Majesty's open and secret Enemies both at Home and Abroad.

Given under our Hands, at the Grand Jury Chamber, this 28th of November, 1724.

George Forbes,	David Tew,
William Empson,	Thomas How,
Nathanael Pearson,	John Jones,
Joseph Nuttall,	James Brown,
William Aston,	Charles Lyndon,
Stearn Tighe,	Jerom Bredin,
Richard Walker,	John Sican,
Edmond French,	Anthony Brunton,
John Vereilles,	Thomas Gaven,
Philip Pearson,	Daniel Elwood,
Thomas Robins,	John Brunet,
Richard Dawson,	

Seasonable

Seasonable **ADVICE** to the Grand Jury,
concerning the Bill preparing against the Printer
of the preceding LETTER.

SINCE a *Bill* is preparing for the Grand Jury, to find against the Printer of the *Drapier's last Letter*, there are several Things maturely to be considered by those Gentlemen before they determine upon it.

FIRST, They are to consider, that the Author of the said Pamphlet did write three other Discourses on the same Subject, which, instead of being censured, were universally approved by the whole Nation, and were allowed to have raised, and continued that Spirit among us, which hitherto hath kept out *Wood's Coin*; for all Men will grant, that if those Pamphlets had not been writ, his Coin must have over-run the Nation some Months ago.

SECONDLY, It is to be considered, that this Pamphlet, against which a *Proclamation* hath been issued, is writ by the *same Author*: That no body ever doubted the Innocence and Goodness of his Design; that he appears, through the whole Tenor of it, to be a *loyal Subject* to His Majesty, and devoted to the House of *Hanover*, and declares himself in a Manner peculiarly zealous against the *Pretender*. And if such a Writer, in four several Treatises on so nice a Subject, where a Royal Patent is concerned, and where it was necessary to speak of *England*, and of *Liberty*, should, in one or two Places, happen to let fall an inadvertent Expression, it would be hard to condemn him, after all the Good he hath done, especially when we consider, that he could have no possible

ble Design in View, either of Honour or Profit, but purely the GOOD of his COUNTRY.

THIRDLY, it ought to be well considered, whether any one Expression in the said Pamphlet be really liable to a just Exception, much less to be found *wicked, malicious, seditious, reflecting upon His Majesty and His Ministry, &c.*

THE two Points in that Pamphlet, which, it is said, the Prosecutors intend chiefly to fix on, are, First, where the Author mentions the Penner of the King's Answer. First, it is well known His Majesty is not Master of the *English* Tongue; and therefore it is necessary that some other Person should be employed to pen what he hath to say, or write in that Language. Secondly, His Majesty's Answer is not in the first Person; but in the third. It is not said, WE ARE CONCERNED, or OUR ROYAL PREDECESSORS; but HIS MAJESTY is concerned, and his ROYAL PREDECESSORS. By which it is plain, these are properly not the Words of His Majesty, but supposed to be taken from him, and transmitted hither by one of his Ministers. Thirdly, it will be easily seen, that the Author of the Pamphlet delivers his Sentiments upon this Particular, with the utmost Caution and Respect, as any impartial Reader will observe.

THE second Paragraph, which, it is said, will be taken Notice of, as a Motive to find the Bill, is what the Author says of *Ireland's* being a dependant Kingdom: He explains all the Dependence he knows of, which is a Law made in *Ireland*, whereby it is enacted, that *whoever is King of England shall be King of Ireland.* Before this Explanation be condemned, and the Bill found upon it, it would be proper, that some Lawyers should fully inform the Jury what other Law there is, either Statute or Common,
for

308 *Seasonable Advice to the Grand Jury.*

for this *Dependency*; and if there be no Law, there is no Transgression.

THE fourth Thing very maturely to be considered by the Jury, is, what Influence their finding the Bill may have upon the Kingdom: The People in general find no Fault in the *Drapier's* last Book, any more than in the three former; and therefore when they hear it is condemned by a Grand Jury of *Dublin*, they will conclude it is done in Favour of *Wood's* Coin; they will think, we of this Town have changed our Minds, and intend to take those Half-pence, and therefore that it will be in vain for them to stand out: So that the Question comes to this: Which will be of the worst Consequence, to let pass one or two Expressions, at the worst only unwary, in a Book written for the publick Service; or to leave a free open Passage for *Wood's* Brads to over-run us, by which we shall be undone for ever.

THE fifth Thing to be considered is, that the Members of the Grand Jury, being Merchants and principal Shop-keepers, can have no suitable Temptation offered them, as a Recompence for the Mischief they will do, and suffer by letting in this Coin; nor can be at any Loss or Danger, by rejecting the Bill. They do not expect any Employments in the State, to make up in their own private Advantages, by the Destruction of their Country; whereas those who go about to *advise, entice, or threaten* them to find that Bill, have great Employments which they have a Mind to keep, or to get *greater*; as it was likewise the Case of all those who signed the Proclamation to have the Author prosecuted. And therefore it is known, that his Grace the Lord Archbishop of *Dublin*, so renowned for his Piety, and Wisdom, and Love of his Country, absolutely refused to condemn the Book or the Author.

LAST-

LASTLY, It ought to be considered what Consequence the finding the Bill may have upon a poor Man, perfectly innocent; I mean the Printer. A Lawyer may pick out Expressions, and make them liable to Exception, where no other Man is able to find any. But how can it be suppos'd that an ignorant Printer can be such a *Critick*? He knew the Author's Design was honest, and approved by the whole Kingdom: He advised with Friends, who told him there was no Harm in the Book, and he could see none himself: It was sent him in an unknown Hand; but the same in which he received the three former. He and his Wife have offered to take their Oaths, that they knew not the Author. And therefore to find a Bill, that may bring Punishment upon the innocent, will appear *very hard*, to say no worse. For it will be impossible to find the Author, unless he will please to discover himself; although I wonder he ever concealed his Name: But, I suppose, what he did at first of Modesty, he continues to do out of Prudence. God protect us and him.

I will conclude all with a Fable ascribed to *Demosthenes*: He had served the People of *Athens* with great Fidelity, in the Station of an *Orator*; when, upon a certain Occasion, apprehending to be delivered over to his Enemies, he told the *Athenians*, his Countrymen, the following Story: Once, upon a Time, the *Wolves* desired a League with the *Sheep*, upon this Condition, that the Cause of Strife might be taken away, which was the *Shepherds* and *Manstiffs*: This being granted, the *Wolves*, without all Fear, made Havock of the *Sheep*.

November 11

1724.

310 RESOLUTIONS, &c.

The Evening before the Trial, Copies of the preceding Paper were conveyed to every Person of the Grand Jury; who, moved by the Reasons contained in the said Paper, would not find the Bill; whereupon the Chief Justice Whitshed dissolved the Jury in a Rage. After which the following Extract was published, and dispersed about the Town, to shew the Illegality of the said Whitshed's Proceeding.

An Extract from a Book, entituled, An exact Collection of the Debates of the House of Commons, held at Westminster, Oct. 21, 1680, Pag. 150.

RESOLUTIONS of the House of Commons in
England, Nov. the 13th, 1680.

SEVERAL Persons being examined about the dismissing a Grand Jury in *Middlesex*, the House came to the following *Resolutions*:

Resolved, That the Discharging of a Grand Jury by any Judge, before the End of the Term, Assizes, or Sessions, while Matters are under their Consideration, and not presented, is arbitrary, illegal, destructive to publick Justice, a manifest Violation of his Oath, and is a Means to subvert the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom.

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to examine the Proceedings of the Judges in *Westminster-Hall*; and report the same, with their Opinion herein, to this House.

The END of the Eighth Volume.



